



SOCIAL WORK AND LEGISLATION IN SWEDEN

By
THE ROYAL SOCIAL BOARD

Printed in Sweden by
TRYCKERIAKTIEBOLAGET TIDEN

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SOCIAL WORK
AND LEGISLATION
IN SWEDEN

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In 1921, by order of the Swedish Government, the Social Board issued the publication "Législation ouvrière et prévoyance sociale en Suède". A new and enlarged edition of that work was published in 1928 in English under the title "Social Work and Legislation in Sweden". This latter edition was also published in Swedish under the title "Sociallagstiftning och socialt arbete i Sverige", and in French under the title "L'Oeuvre sociale en Suède".

In order to supply the steady demand which still exists for this work, the Board has arranged for the issue of a third edition in a revised and partly remodelled form. As previously, valuable assistance has been rendered by official authorities, organizations and individual experts.

The present edition is likewise being issued in Swedish and French under the titles last quoted above.

The Royal Social Board.

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Introduction.

Although Sweden is one of the smaller countries in Europe as regards population, in superficial area it ranks among the larger. On January 1, 1936, the population was about 6.250.000. As approximately comparable countries may be mentioned: The Netherlands (8.5 mill. inh.), Austria (6.8 mill.), Greece (6.7 mill.), Bulgaria (6.2 mill.) and Portugal (6.4 mill.). Sweden's area, about 449.000 sq. kilometres, is somewhat less than that of such countries as France, Spain and Germany; on the other hand it is almost half as large again as that of Great Britain and Ireland.

The northern parts, composed of mountainous tracts and abounding in vast forests, are sparsely populated, while as regards cultivation and density of population the southernmost areas are comparable with Central Europe. The sparse population of the extensive northern parts of the country is accounted for by the severe climate and the often barren soil in those latitudes, whereas the well-populated southernmost province, Skåne (Scania), has been endowed by nature with a soil which rivals the finest that our Continent has to offer. Considering its northerly position, Sweden has, on the whole, a very favourable climate. Thanks to the Gulf Stream, the winter temperature is considerably higher than the mean temperature of countries in the same latitudes, and it is this fortunate circumstance which has enabled Sweden, in spite of a geographical position comparable to that of south Greenland, the Hudson Bay countries, etc., to attain a prominent place amongst the civilized countries.

Within its extensive area, and especially on account of its length from north to south, Sweden possesses great variations of climate and natural features, and the national character has not escaped their influence, as is particularly shown by the existence of a very distinctive peasant and provincial culture, handed down from time immemorial. At the same time Sweden has always maintained the most lively con-

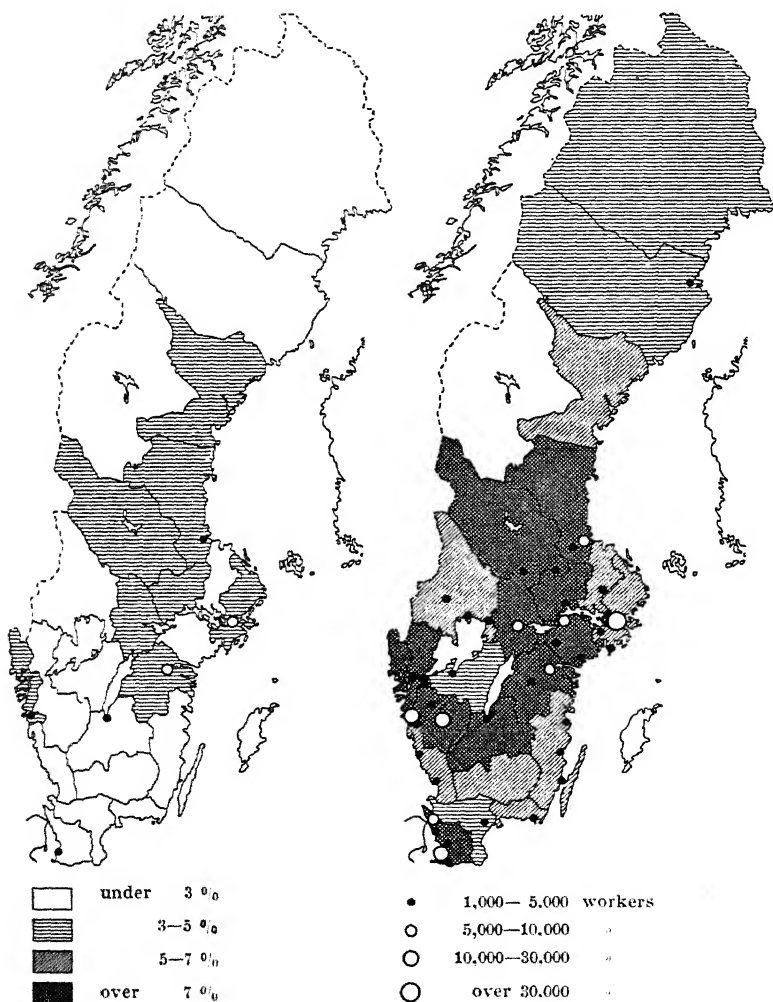
Introduction

The Industrialization of Sweden 1875—1934.

The number of industrial workers in % of the population.

1875 (115,000 industrial workers)

1934 (438,000 industrial workers)



tact with, and itself been an integral part of, the European world of culture. Modern industrialism certainly made a relatively tardy appearance in Sweden, but on the other hand its growth has been vigorous and rapid and it has exerted a profound influence on the life of the community.

In an account of the social conditions in Sweden, such as is contemplated in this work, it has been considered of interest to pay some attention to the economic background against which they are to be viewed. The high standard reached in many instances by Swedish social institutions would naturally have been unattainable had not a rapidly growing and, at the present time, highly developed industrial life created the material conditions essential for it. In the next few pages, therefore, a short survey will be given of Sweden's natural resources and more important industrial spheres, with special reference to the export industries. This will be followed by an account — also quite brief — of the position regarding the population at the present time and of its distribution among the different occupations. Finally, some data will be given concerning the standard of living of the Swedish people and particularly that of the working classes.

1. Natural Resources.

Agriculture and its Products. From early times agriculture has been looked upon as the chief industry of Sweden, and this is still true, even if an increasing proportion of the population has been absorbed into industry, trade, and commerce, so that nowadays considerably less than half the population subsists on agriculture (see page 26). Not more than one-tenth of the area of the country is under cultivation, yet agriculture and stock-rearing have been able to keep pace with the increased consumption, so that since the 1880's they have produced food for, on an average, about four-fifths of the population and in good harvest years even considerably more. Swedish farming has been characterised by increasingly intensive cultivation, entailing a greater use of the more profitable kinds of crops, such as wheat, sugar-beet and other roots, a more abundant supply of fertilizers, more effective methods of working the land, and highly advanced methods of seed improvement.

About 40 % of the cultivated area is given up to the growing of

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Harvesting on the Plains of Scania.

hay and green fodder. Nearly one-half is devoted to the cultivation of various cereals, oats yielding the largest crop, after which come wheat, mixed grain, rye and barley. Root-crops (potatoes, fodder-roots, sugar-beets) are grown in considerably greater quantities than grain, but their total value is not nearly so high.

Thanks partly to the import of cattle-cake, the rearing of live-stock has greatly increased, and butter, meat, etc., are produced in excess of home requirements to a value of about a hundred million kronor annually.

Natural Resources

On the other hand vegetable foodstuffs have to be imported in not inconsiderable quantities, principally in order to provide for the increasing consumption of wheat. Whereas in the 1870's the annual consumption of milled grain was 131 kg per head, it has risen during the present century to over 160, of which approximately three-quarters are milled from the home-grown article. During the 1930's, thanks to increased production and reduced consumption, it has been possible to cover the country's requirements of cereals by means of home-grown supplies; indeed, in certain years there has been a substantial surplus.

Further, agriculture provides the raw materials for the manufacture of oatmeal and potato-starch, and also for the sugar and distilling industries, the breweries and the yeast factories.

The rearing of domestic animals provides, *inter alia*, the raw materials for butter and cheese making, and for meat and pork, and the work in connection with these products has largely been transferred from the farms to special factories, usually owned by co-operative agricultural societies.

The home production of fats, however, is insufficient, and the industries for which vegetable fat is the principal raw material, as for example margarine and grease factories, the chocolate industry and the manufacturers of concentrated cattle-fodder, are mainly dependent upon imports.

With a view to mitigating the effects of the international agricultural crisis the authorities have since the beginning of 1930 taken far-reaching steps to protect the agricultural industry. In regard to cereals, the measures adopted have included a stabilization of prices and a decree requiring a minimum quota of Swedish cereals in the flour produced by the mills. To stabilize the prices of fodder-grain the State has imposed, *inter alia*, import restrictions and a regulation of the prices of foreign-grown fodder. Finally, radical steps have been taken to regulate the prices and the marketing of most animal products.

Ores and Industry. The geological foundations of Sweden are for the most part composed of primitive rock, principally gneisses and granites. The granites are, in many places, of such a nature that they provide excellent raw material for the stone industry.

When the great inventory of the world's iron-ore resources was

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taken for the International Geological Congress in Stockholm in 1910, the supplies of ore containing over 60 % were estimated at about 1,300 mill. tons, of which Sweden alone possessed 1,035 mill. tons or about 80 %. A more recent investigation has proved that Sweden's supply of this ore is actually much greater. In all prob-



An electric ore-loading Shovel at Kiruna, Lapland.

ability, therefore, Sweden is better off than any other country in the world as far as rich iron-ore is concerned. On the other hand, if calculations are based on the poor as well as on the rich resources of iron-ore, Sweden possesses about 10 % of the total resources in Europe and about 5 % of the world's known supply.

As regards other ores, with the exception of zinc, Sweden does not cover her own requirements. In recent years, however, the prospect has arisen of the situation changing in this respect in view of new extensive finds in Norrland containing sulphide ores, the so-called Skellefte deposits. In 1920 systematic electrical and geological investigations were started, resulting in the discovery of Sweden's largest supply of iron-pyrites and copper ore, as well as considerable

Natural Resources

supplies of arsenic, zinc, gold and silver, antimony, and lead. A modern smelting-work was accordingly established at Rönnskär, near Skellefteå, and the exploitation of the deposits has been in full swing for some years past.

Swedish mining has long been on a technically high level and in



The Huskvarna Manufacturing District in Småland.

more recent times has been further developed by the employment of continually improved methods. The vast ore-fields in Lapland, from which the bulk of the iron-ore is obtained, are still chiefly worked open-cast, while in the older mines in Central Sweden the mining has almost exclusively to be done underground. It may be added that half of the share capital of the Luossavaara—Kiirunavaara Co. Ltd., which works the Lapland ore-fields, is owned by the State.

By far the greater part of the ore that is mined in Lapland is phosphoriferous (1—2 %) and cannot be profitably refined within the country, chiefly on account of the lack of coal. This has led to a large export of ore, principally to German ironworks, but also to English and American. The ore is much in demand, especially on account of its unusually rich ironcontent (60—70 %) in addition

to its other good qualities. In several years during the 1920's the value of the iron-ore exports amounted to more than 100 mill. kronor annually, and in 1935 to 91.6 mill. kronor. Large wharfs equipped with modern plant for loading ore have been built at Luleå and Narvik (Norway), great quantities being shipped from the latter place. The deposits in Central Sweden do not as a rule contain high-percentage ores. The iron content there is usually 45—55 %, and frequently lower. In most cases it is the purity and other good qualities of these ores that determine their high value and have won for Swedish iron its great reputation. The centuries-old iron-producing and industrial district of Central Sweden — Bergslagen — is still the centre of the Swedish iron-refining industry.

In this connection it may be added that the Swedish types of granite and greenstone ("black granite") constitute splendid materials for monumental buildings and various kinds of monuments, street paving, quays, docks, canal-locks, etc.

Among other mineral deposits may be mentioned clays, from some of which excellent facing bricks are made, while first-class fire-proof tiles and bricks are manufactured from other kinds.

Forests and Industry. It is calculated that Sweden possesses in round figures 25 mill. hectares — i. e. more than half the area of the country — of forest, mainly spruce and fir. Sweden and S. E. Norway were in fact the countries of Northern Europe where lumbering was first developed. A large part of the otherwise inaccessible forest area had an almost unique advantage in the fact that the water-courses could be turned into splendid floating channels, with a total length of about 30,000 kilometres. The natural advantages are: the rivers' suitable fall from the mountains to the coast, winters with abundant snow, and very high water during the spring. Owing to the late melting of the snow in the mountains, the high water persists in the larger rivers and a large number of great lakes act as regulating reservoirs for all the rivers. By means of the rafting channels, timber is transported exceptionally cheaply from practically every point inland to the coast, which abounds in good harbours and is girt with innumerable islands.

On the whole it may be said that an abundant supply of high-quality timber, a great demand from countries conveniently situated from the point of view of transport, a population fitted for the industry, and

Natural Resources

excellent transport waterways, are the advantages on which the export of forest-products — so vital a factor in the country's economy — has been built up. These products consist mainly of sawn timber and woodpulp as well as more highly processed articles, such as paper and joinery.



Rafting on the River Indalsälven, Medelpad.

Power Production. With the development of Sweden as an industrial country the demand for power has continuously increased; this applies to both mechanical and thermal energy. During the first phases of industrial development the requisite energy was chiefly produced by means of fuel of various kinds, but after the great inventions of 1880 and the beginning of the 1890's which have placed at Man's disposal the supply of energy from waterfalls and rapids, Sweden rapidly became one of the first countries to exploit water-power.

The total energy developed by primary motors (water and fuel power) used in industry amounted in 1934 to 2.81 mill. h. p. Out of this quantity 0.33 mill. h. p. were used as direct power for driving machinery and apparatus of various kinds and 2.48 mill. h. p. for

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Sweden's largest unexploited Waterfall (Harsprånget in Lapland).

driving electric generators. For driving machinery there were also used, besides the primary motors mentioned above, electric motors, developing a total of 1.89 mill. h. p.

The supply of exploitable energy from water-power is considerable.

The Principal Industries

According to reliable estimates based on recent investigations, the water-power available for practical use amounts to 32.5 milliards of kWh. In 1934 the volume of harnessed water-power produced 1.42 milliards of kWh, equivalent to about 6 milliards of kWh. The water-power is distributed rather unequally over the different parts of the country. About 75—80 % of the entire supply is to be found in Norrland, so that there is a large surplus in that part of Sweden, while in Central Sweden nearly all the more valuable sources of energy are already being exploited.

The principal native fuel is wood, which was of course the most important source of energy in earlier times. On the other hand, Sweden is very badly off for fossil fuel. The coal deposits in north-west Scania are worthy of mention, but only about 400,000 tons are mined annually.

2. The Principal Industries.

The Iron Industry. In earlier times Swedish iron production played an important part in the world's economy both quantitatively and qualitatively. As regards quantity, it is nowadays insignificant in comparison with the great industrial countries' output of iron based on coal fuel. In the matter of quality, however, Swedish iron still holds its own on the world markets, owing, inter alia, to the purity of the ores and to the use of charcoal in its production. Moreover, the electrification of the works has been of the greatest importance in developing the iron industry in general.

The Swedish export of iron comprises both pig-iron and high-quality iron and steel in a more or less manufactured state.

Iron and Steel Manufactures, Machinery, Shipbuilding and the Electro-technical Industry. As regards the further processing of the products of the Swedish iron industry and other metal works, only a few of the more prominent specialities can be referred to here. Foremost among the iron and steel goods may be mentioned the products of the "Eskilstuna industry", which are known all over the world. These consist of different kinds of knives, scissors, files, drills, hammers, and pliers. They also include locks, hinges, and other constructional hardware. Swedish hinges now supply more than half of the world consumption.

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The mechanical engineering industry occupies a very prominent place in Sweden's industrial production, on account not only of the excellent raw materials but also of the natural aptitude of the people for mechanical work. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the high standard of technical education that has long been characteristic of Sweden. The country can also claim to have produced a large number of inventors of genius both in the mechanical engineering industry and in other technical spheres. In 1935 the export of "machinery, mechanical apparatus and electrical goods" amounted to 122 mill. kronor. The modern efforts towards the standardization of these products have attracted increasing interest as far as the mechanical engineering industry is concerned. In this industry standardization implies, firstly, that certain dimensional series are fixed for the machine parts in common use (screws, bolts, wedges, cog-wheels, bearings), and secondly that assembled apparatus, such as implements, machines, etc., are limited to a few types or series of types — all of which has obvious economic advantages. Some examples will be given here of the various important products and special lines widely known abroad.

Following the successful production of steam-engines, the manufacture of *s t e a m - t u r b i n e s*, based on the brilliant designs of de Laval and the brothers Ljungström, has become an important branch of industry during the present century, with a not inconsiderable export trade. Sweden is naturally interested in the manufacture of *w a t e r - t u r b i n e s* and the producers have maintained the leading position in this industry which they gained at the very beginning. In practically every country where there are waterfalls Swedish turbines are now employed, thanks to their being so economical to run. — As early as in the beginning of the 1890's the manufacture of *i n t e r n a l c o m b u s t i o n e n g i n e s* was begun; an important motor industry has grown up in the country, the total exports, of which crude-oil engines form a special feature, amounting in 1935 to 11 mill. kronor.

For several years past Sweden has been manufacturing large quantities of *s e p a r a t o r s* (machines for separating cream from milk) based on the invention of de Laval. There is a considerable export trade in these articles (12 mill. kronor in 1935).

The Swedish *b a l l - b e a r i n g s*, known all over the world, are based on Dr. Sven Wingquist's designs, which are chiefly charac-

The Principal Industries

terized by the quality possessed by the bearing of automatically aligning itself to the shaft. The good Swedish steel and extremely careful methods of manufacture, as regards both the material and its treatment, have also contributed to the wonderful success achieved by this product on the export market. The value of exports of roller- and ball-bearings from Sweden amounted in 1935 to 31½ mill. kronor.

In 1904 was founded a still flourishing industry for the manufacture of gas accumulators for dissolved acetylene gas stations, automatic signals for lighthouses and railways, and apparatus of various kinds for lighting, cutting and welding, based on the brilliant inventions of Dr. Gustaf Dalén — who was awarded the Nobel Prize. The Dalén light-beacon apparatus is nowadays exported to all parts of the world.

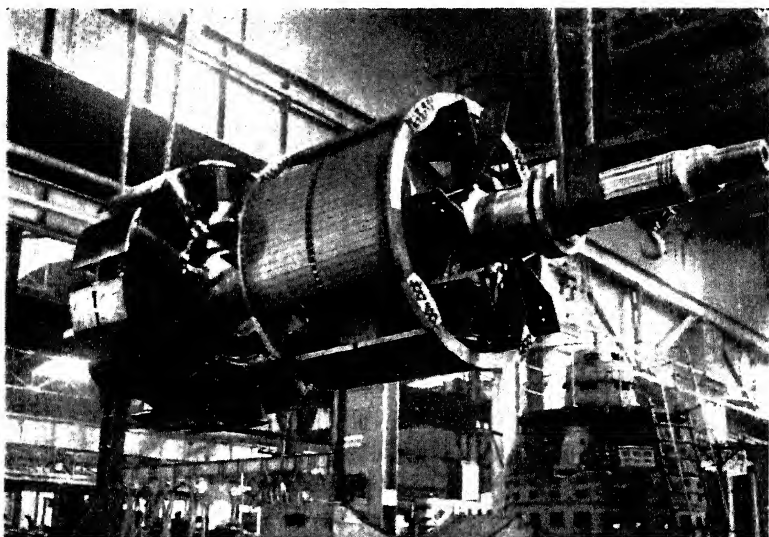
Another notable line now being manufactured is the petroleum cooking-stove, for which there is an ever-growing market thanks to the invention of the "P r i m u s c o o k i n g - s t o v e", based on the vaporization of paraffin and its admixture with air before ignition.

The shipbuilding industry in Sweden has a long tradition behind it. Interest in home shipbuilding was immensely stimulated by the establishment of Swedish transoceanic lines in 1904, and even before the Great War Swedish shipyards built both cargo and passenger vessels of considerable dimensions, not only for Swedish ship-owners but also for Russian, Norwegian, French, and German customers. Since then Swedish shipbuilding has developed into a great industry, which in its technical progress and organization has kept fully abreast of the times. In 1934 the value of the products of the dockyards and the shipbuilding industry amounted to 65½ mill. kronor, and in 1935 the volume of tonnage launched at Swedish shipyards was no less than 8 % of the world production of vessels in the same year.

In Sweden a vigorous electro-technical industry sprang up at a comparatively early date, favoured by several natural advantages possessed by the country. The first Swedish electricity works was built in 1885, only two years after the establishment of the first European works in Milan. Sweden occupies a prominent position in several respects in the h i g h - t e n s i o n i n d u s t r y and the oldest and largest works, the Swedish General Electrical Co. Ltd. (Asea), has gained an international reputation for its manufacture of large three-phase generators. The most prominent representative of the Swedish

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electric cable industry, Sievert's Cable Works, has also carried out remarkable contracts in its line. In the low-tension industry the L. M. Ericsson Telephone Co. Ltd. has been in many respects a pioneer in telepho n e c o n s t r u c t i o n, and thanks to its more or less recently introduced system of automatic telephone exchanges it is still maintaining its leading position. In 1935 the export of electric



An interior View of the ASEA Works, Västerås.

generators, motors, vacuum cleaners, etc., amounted to 19 mill. kr., the export of fans, ventilators, refrigerators, etc. to 7 mill. kr., and of telephonic and telegraphic apparatus to 5 mill. kr. In 1934 the total value of the products of the electro-technical industry amounted to 141.4 mill. kr. The essential importance of the electro-technical industry lies in the fact that it supplies to such a large extent the demand for power in industry, agriculture and in communications.

The Timber Industry. The largest industry in Sweden is the saw-mill industry, which employs not far short of 100,000 men, including forest workers and raftsmen. Towards the middle of the 1870's, the sawmill industry underwent a very rapid expansion, which has since

The Principal Industries

been succeeded by a position of greater stability. At the same time the majority of the larger sawmills have been continuously modernized, keeping pace with mechanical progress. In 1935 the total value of the exports of sawmill products amounted to approximately 166 mill. kr., of which total the exports of hewn and sawn timber alone amounted to 96½ mill. kr.

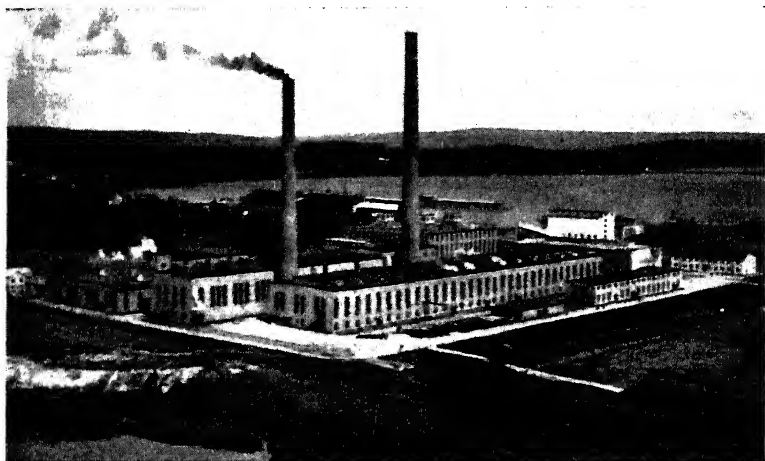


The Sandvik Sawmills in Västerbotten. (Photo Aero-Materiel no. H. 2570.)

The Paper Pulp and Paper Industry. One of the most characteristic features of the economic development of Sweden in recent times has been the great expansion of the paper pulp industry. This branch has grown in less than half a century into an export industry which has now outstripped the sawmill industry. After the art of producing paper pulp by mechanical means was discovered in 1844 and was adopted later — the first mechanical pulp mill was erected in Sweden in 1857 — the Swedish engineer Carl Daniel Ekman succeeded in 1873 in producing sulphite pulp, thus laying the foundations of the sulphite pulp industry, which is of such special importance to Sweden. Both the sulphate and, more especially, the sulphite industry have undergone an extraordinarily rapid development since the 1890's. The country has thereby received a total value which may be cal-

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culated in milliards of kronor, in part gained directly from the export of pulp, and in part created indirectly from the favourable reaction of the paper pulp industry on other industrial and business spheres. The export of pulp, mechanical as well as chemical, amounted in 1935 to 270 mill. kronor, representing more than $\frac{1}{5}$ of the



The Östrand Sulphate Mills, Medelpad.

country's entire exports. Whereas Sweden ranks third after the U. S. A. and Canada as a pulp-producing country, with a production in 1934 of 2.87 mill. tons, representing a value of 333 mill. kronor, its export of paper pulp — at any rate in normal years — is not exceeded by that of any other country.

In addition it is worthy of note that the pulp industry is the basis of the paper-making industry and also affords valuable economic support to the sawmill industry by providing an economic use for the smaller dimensions of timber and the waste from the sawmills. In this way the manufacture of pulp has become a necessary complement to the sawmill industry.

Of the waste lixivia from the factories many of the by-products are now put to valuable use, some of the most important being resin and turpentine from the manufacture of sulphate, and ethyl-alcohol, so-called sulphite spirit, from sulphite. The latter is increasingly used

Population and the Standard of Living

for motor-fuel, for which purpose it is mixed with petrol and is known as "lättbentyl".

The paper industry is of ancient origin in Sweden but it was not until the manufacture of wood pulp began to flourish that the paper industry can be considered to have developed into a big industry. Its expansion has been particularly vigorous, as regards both production and export. The production of boards and paper amounted in 1934 to 791.000 tons, to a value of 177 mill. kronor; the export in 1935 was 609.000 tons, to a value of 132 mill. kronor, representing 11 % of the country's total export value. More than half the paper exports consists of wrapping paper and more than one-third of newsprint. As regards "kraft" paper Sweden ranks first among the exporting countries.

*

Space does not permit of any detailed reference here to other branches of industry in Sweden, which, in many cases, are highly developed and can compete in quality with the best foreign productions. Mention need only be made of the textile and sewing industries, which employ altogether 70.000 workers and which have been better able to face foreign competition in recent years as a result of their modernization and rationalization, the foodstuffs industries, such as flour-mills, sugar-refineries, bakeries, dairies, canning factories, breweries, etc., the leather, shoe and rubber-goods industries, which supply the greater part of the country's requirements in those lines, the world-famous Swedish match industry, as well as the cement, china and glass industries. The Swedish ornamental glass, especially from Orrefors and Kosta, has of late years attracted great attention abroad.

3. Population and the Standard of Living.

The growth of the Population and its Distribution over Town and Country. As has already been mentioned, the population of Sweden at the end of 1935 was 6.250,000 persons. Since 1920 the increase in the population has not amounted on an average to 5 %₆₀ per annum, and in 1935 it was not more than 2.6 %₆₀. This was

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chiefly due to the low birth-rate, which in 1935 did not exceed 13.8 per 1,000 inhabitants, the lowest relative birth-rate ever recorded in Sweden, and according to available information lower than any in Europe for the same period. Since the death-rate in 1935 was 11.7 per 1,000 inhabitants, the excess of births was as low as 2.1 ‰. Emigration was very considerable (on an average 25,000 per annum) during the last decades of the 19th century and the first of the present century, but as a result of the restrictive immigration policy of the United States it has decreased appreciably, and in 1935 the number of emigrants is reported to have been 2,451, while the immigrants numbered 5,412 (see page 85).

Since 1920, when it amounted to the relatively high figure of 23.8 ‰, the birth-rate has shown a continuous decrease, while the frequency of marriage has remained almost constant and even showed a slight increase in the last few years. The first-mentioned fact is naturally calculated to attract serious attention.

On the other hand, as regards the death-rate, Sweden is one of the most favourably situated countries in Europe.¹ The infant mortality, i. e. the number of deaths during the first year of life, which in recent years has represented on an average not quite 6 ‰, is remarkably low.

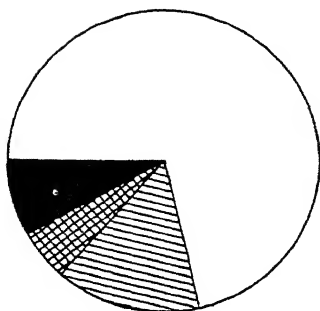
Industrialism has been accompanied by a great concentration of the population in the towns, the larger of which are characterized by large tenement houses and have a highly mobile population. Nevertheless, the greater part of the population — about 70 ‰ — still lives in the country districts, and only 16 towns have over 20,000 inhabitants. The three largest towns with their suburbs are: Stockholm with about 600,000 inhabitants, Gothenburg with 258,000, and Malmö with 139,000. Since the 1870's the towns have shown a rapid growth. At the same time it is characteristic of Swedish conditions that many large industries, such as the sawmills, pulp mills, iron works, etc., are located outside the towns in the neighbourhood of the natural resources on which their activities are based, and there communities have sprung up which have a sort of intermediate position between town and country.

¹ Since 1929 the rate of mortality in Sweden has been on the decline and represented: in 1930 11.7 ‰, in 1931 12.5 ‰, in 1932 11.6 ‰, in 1933 11.2 ‰, in 1934 11.2 ‰.

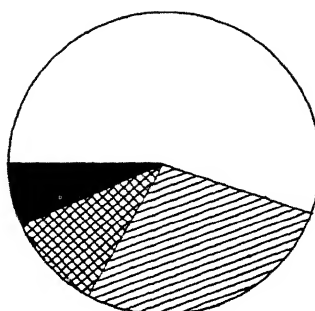
Population and the Standard of Living

The Distribution of the Population according to Occupations.

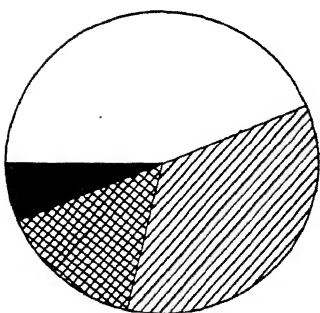
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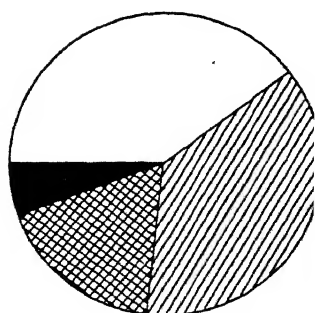
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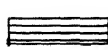



1930



 Agriculture, etc.

 Trade and communications

 Industry and handicraft

 Public services, etc.

Introduction

Distribution of Occupations. While in the majority of other countries dissimilarities of race, language and religion have given rise to disintegrating elements, which to a certain extent leave their impress on social movements, in Sweden these movements have come to be determined very largely by the differences existing between various tracts and occupations, and between persons in different social positions. As the economic differences have not been excessively wide, the social life of the country has become imbued with a spirit of relative calm and moderation, which many other countries may have cause to envy.

A summary survey of the distribution of the population over the various occupations and of the changes that have taken place in this respect is given in the following table.

Year	Agriculture and subsidiary occupations	Industry and trade	Public services and independ- ent trades
	%	%	%
1751	80	10	10
1840	81	11	8
1870	72	20	8
1900	54	39	7
1920	44	51	5
1930	39	54	7

Agriculture, which right down to the middle of the 19th century afforded employment to by far the greater proportion of the population, now does not employ as much as half. Even in absolute figures, the agricultural population has decreased during the last decades, while in 1870—1930 the number of those engaged in industry and trade increased from 825,000 to 3,300,000. The decrease in the agricultural population does not however in any way imply a decline in agricultural production. On the contrary, in 1870—1930 the area of cultivated land increased by 50 %, and farming showed a vigorous advance, thanks to improved methods and implements, and also to the increased specialization of labour, so that the decrease in the number of workers must be viewed in connection with the introduction of machinery into agriculture.

While about one-third of the total area of the country is public property (State-owned, etc.) and rather less than one-fifth is owned by companies, by far the largest part of the socially most important land — the cultivated area — is the property of private

Population and the Standard of Living

owners, of whom only a small number possess large acreages. Actually, about three-quarters of Swedish cultivated land is in the hands of small landowners, and most of the farming is done by the owner himself and the members of his family. Only one-third of the agricultural population can be classed as labourers in the proper sense of the word.

Closely connected with agriculture is the *l u m b e r i n g i n d u s t r y*, which is principally conducted in the winter by workers who can conveniently be spared from farming. In the northern tracts of the country, where the forests are largely the property of the State and companies, large-scale lumbering predominates and employs a relatively considerable number of labourers. It is a characteristic feature of the industry, however, that the workers are principally small farmers and their sons, i. e., people who in their main occupations belong to that group which earns an independent livelihood.

The predominant feature in the grouping of occupations during the past 50 years is, as has just been mentioned, the great increase in the numbers engaged in *i n d u s t r y a n d t r a d e*. In the large-scale and small-scale industries close on 700,000 persons are employed, including about 100,000 engaged in handicrafts and home-industries, and about the same number in the building trades. In 1934 the total number of workmen employed in factories and workshops as well as in mines was 438,367, distributed as follows:

	Number of workers Absolute figures	%
Ore mining	7,644	1.7
Metal and machine industry	131,902	30.1
Clay, glass etc. and stone industry..	31,924	7.3
Timber industry	56,709	12.9
Pulp and paper industry	34,393	7.9
Book-printing and sundry paper industries	19,601	4.5
Foodstuffs industry	43,724	10.0
Textile and clothing industries	70,663	16.1
Leather, hair, and rubber industries	22,190	5.1
Chemico-technical industry	12,470	2.8
Power, lighting and water-works ..	7,147	1.6
Total	438,367	100.0

Side by side with industry, trade and communications have absorbed an increasing number of employees, which at the present time may

Introduction

be estimated at about 300,000, of whom half are engaged in the larger enterprises, such as banks, insurance companies, shipping companies, railways, hotels and restaurants, department stores, etc. Most of those engaged in trade and transport have various kinds of salaried positions.

More or less on the same footing as the latter are the employees of the State and communes, numbering about 200,000, of whom nearly three-quarters hold salaried posts and the remainder are workmen.

The Standard of Living. During the last few decades a number of investigations have been made into the conditions under which the Swedish people live. On the basis of detailed household accounts, which in all the inquiries have covered an entire year and have been obtained from a relatively large number of families, light has been thrown on the standard of living amongst industrial workers and subordinate salaried employees (in Stockholm 1907—08: 150 households; in urban communities 1913—14: 1,355 households; in urban communities and industrial centres in rural districts about the year 1923: 1,192 households and 1932—33: 1,050 households), amongst middle class families (about the year 1923: 208 households and 1932—33: 195 households), amongst agricultural workers (1920: 372 households and 1933—34: 440 households, including 136 lumbermen's families), and amongst small farmers and peasant families (1933—34: 331 households). Regarding families whose incomes have been substantially reduced through unemployment, similar inquiries were carried out in 1932—34 with a view to ascertaining the effect of unemployment on the families' standard of living (about 175 households).

The data obtained from these investigations were found, both quantitatively and qualitatively, to serve their purpose very satisfactorily. They form, therefore, an important and valuable basis of information concerning the Swedish people's standard of living today and the progress that has been made in the past quarter of a century. Family budgets have been obtained from the different classes of society showing how the income and expenditure are apportioned; what part is played by the income derived from secondary occupations, from the work performed by wife and children, from paying guests and lodgers, from sick relief and other financial aid, etc., apart from the head of

Population and the Standard of Living

Income and Expenditure (Kronor) per Annum and normal Household (= 3.3 Units of Consumption based on the American Scale of Units) within different social Classes.

Social Classes	Industrial workers and low-grade officials			Middle class		Agricultural and forest workers		Small farmers
Year of investigation	1913—1914	1922—1923	1932—1933	1922—1923	1932—1933	1920	1933—1934	1933—1934
<i>Income.</i>								
Husband's work	1,618	3,420	3,410	7,780	6,716	2,099	1,276	248 ¹
Wife's work	39	58	66	235	159	100	58	7
Children's work	56	125	112	52	36	143	46	15
Sold products	—	16	6	18	9	322	187	2,315
Home-made products ..	—	16	3	15	0	502	221	616
Lodging and rents	43	76	96	95	85	6	30	30
Other income	98	100	147	238	292	133	146	375
Total gross income	—	—	—	—	—	3,305	1,964	3,606
Less running expenses	—	—	—	—	—	325	260	1,654
Net income	1,854	3,811	3,840	8,433	7,297	2,980	1,704	1,952
<i>Expenditure.</i>								
Foodstuffs and non-essentials	856	1,636	1,332	2,272	1,675	1,838	862	833
whereof articles of food	794	1,478	1,155	1,856	1,339	1,764	803	784
Dwelling	234	376	541	935	1,052	121	154	194
Fuel and light	87	166	152	312	254	171	93	97
Clothing	230	534	481	1,030	822	445	213	228
Taxes	84	297	252	1,026	708	76	49	131
Furniture and fixtures	74	170	169	525	376	81	64	62
Society fees and insurance premiums ..	86	186	270	426	565	41	70	55
Travelling expenses ..	30	76	85	181	208	39	28	27
Amusements and diversions	19	24	44	93	90	9	12	14
Newspapers and books	20	52	55	189	119	17	15	20
Children's education ..	10	31	36	130	135	6	6	12
Other expenses	109	283	375	1,383	1,042	118	122	178
Total expenditure	1,839	3,831	3,792	8,502	7,046	2,962	1,688	1,851

¹ Mainly cash income from wage-earning work.

Introduction

Quantities of the principal kinds of Goods consumed per Annum and normal Households (= 3.3 Units of Consumption based on the American Scale of Units).

Social Classes	Industrial workers and low-grade officials			Middle class		Agricultural and forest workers		Small farmers
Year of investigation	1913— 1914	1922— 1923	1932— 1933	1922— 1923	1932— 1933	1920	1933— 1934	1933— 1934
Meat and bacon kg	85.4	87.8	88.5	107.9	86.4	90.2	98.6	123.8
Salted herring "	14.9	17.8	13.5	21.4	14.3	28.4	15.3	13.1
Unskimmed milk lit.	647.5	872.5	752.6	956.0	729.1	866.6	851.5	878.8
Separated and hand- skimmed milk "	225.5	61.1	25.2	15.2	12.1	440.6	366.1	544.7
Butter kg	31.6	35.6	38.0	46.2	49.7	25.7	27.2	43.4
Margarine "	20.4	22.4	36.6	22.4	29.7	6.6	30.5	9.1
Cheese "	13.7	15.8	20.5	17.8	22.3	5.0	15.0	16.8
Eggs each	443	580	771	871	951	264	462	594
Hard rye bread kg	36.8	33.7	31.4	38.3	33.3	10.9	19.7	12.0
Soft rye bread "	156.2	87.4	76.1	73.9	66.1	8.6	13.3	4.9
Wheaten bread "	17.0	10.6	10.5	17.5	17.2	2.3	2.4	0.7
Rusks "	11.3	5.3	3.9	5.9	4.1	1.0	—	—
Flour "	193.3	255.8	182.5	188.5	139.0	516.8	431.5	485.8
Grain "	31.9	28.0	21.0	35.6	25.7	23.1	29.6	30.2
Peas "	6.4	5.3	4.1	7.3	4.2	16.8	6.8	4.7
Brown beans "	2.9	2.0	1.7	2.0	1.7	2.3	2.1	1.9
Potatoes "	312.0	396.6	348.2	369.9	293.3	597.8	530.4	561.7
Sugar "	84.9	101.7	124.1	115.8	124.4	80.5	119.8	124.0
Coffee "	17.2	19.8	18.1	18.5	15.9	17.8	18.6	14.4
Spirituos liquors ... "	7.3	10.3	13.4	17.5	16.9	6.9	3.4	4.5
Consumption, per diem and per unit of consumption, of gross calories	3,260	3,610	3,480	4,000	3,530	3,712	3,863	4,128
whereof: animal	1,470	1,580	1,700	1,640	1,276	1,505	1,610
vegetable	2,140	1,900	2,300	1,890	2,436	2,358	2,518

the family's professional income; what proportion of the family income is expended on food, rent, clothing, rates and taxes, etc. Further, it has been possible to ascertain the typical forms of diet customary amongst different classes of the population and to study the nutritive value and physiological composition of the national diet, as well as the changes effected in the employment of income and in the family's habits of life consequent upon its becoming better or worse off.

Population and the Standard of Living

Knowledge has also been obtained of the local divergences in the mode of living due to differences in climate, changing sources of supply and varying price conditions in our far-stretching country.

Some of the more important data regarding the mode of living in the different classes of the population are summarized in the two tables above. A glance at the results obtained will show that, to start with, the standard of living amongst the rural population is a good deal lower than amongst the urban and industrial population. However, the figures give no doubt a somewhat exaggerated idea of the differences insofar as prices and the cost of living are lower in the country than in the towns, this applying particularly to the prices of foodstuffs and to rents. The rural population's consumption of foodstuffs is greater than that of the townsfolk, owing apparently to the fact that the more strenuous manual labour performed by agricultural workers requires more energizing food. The consumption of bacon, milk, flour, grain and potatoes is particularly heavy amongst the countryfolk, whereas they consume less meat, fresh fish, cheese, eggs, fruit and berries, and also vegetables. In the country the bread is largely baked in the home, which accounts for the heavy consumption of flour, while the population in the towns and industrial districts are accustomed to buy their bread from the baker. The consumption of articles taken as an indulgence, such as spirits, wine, beer and tobacco, is far lower in the country than in the urban districts. The consumption of coffee is heaviest amongst the agricultural labourers and lumbermen and also the industrial workers, and lowest amongst the small farmers and the middle-class population. Although the diet of the population in the rural districts is simpler and less varied than that of the urban population, it must nevertheless be regarded, on the whole, as satisfactory.

More considerable are the differences in the standard of living between town and country in regard to clothing, furniture, hygiene and medical attendance, insurance and expenditure on cultural pursuits. The fact is that, owing to the relatively low incomes earned by the rural population, the expenditure on foodstuffs absorbs so large a proportion of the income that so-called "cultural needs" are necessarily less well provided for than is the case amongst the urban population. An excellent gauge of prosperity and of the standard of living is the "foodstuffs percentage", i. e. the expenditure on food and indulgences in percentage of the total expenditure. The lower a

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family's standard of prosperity, the higher, as a rule, is the foodstuffs percentage. Among agricultural workers and lumbermen the foodstuffs percentage amounts to 51 % and among the small farmers it is 45 %, whereas the corresponding percentage for industrial workers and minor officials in towns and industrial communities is only 35 % and for the middle class population 24 %.

The higher standard of living enjoyed by the middle classes as compared with industrial workers and subordinate salaried employees is reflected above all in better dwellings, higher insurance policies and better provision made for cultural needs. As regards the consumption of foodstuffs the differences are far less, and besides are more of a qualitative than of a quantitative nature.

Among the poorer classes of the community the standard of living of families possessing many children is throughout lower than that of childless families or those with only a few children. This is especially the case in regard to the standard of housing and the "cultural budget", but also in some measure to the standard of nutrition. As regards fruit, berries and fresh vegetables the consumption is strongly influenced by the family's economic circumstances. The higher its standard of prosperity, the greater is its consumption of those commodities.

During the past 25 years there has been, on the whole, a marked improvement in the living conditions of the poorer classes of the community. Specially striking is the rise in the standard of living amongst the industrial workers, though during the past decade there have been indications that the standard of living amongst the agricultural workers and lumbermen has also undergone a not inconsiderable improvement. That this is probably the case is evidenced by the marked decline of the foodstuffs percentage and the increase in the relative amount spent on other necessities of life and on services. The living conditions of the middle classes, on the other hand, appear to have been, on the whole, stationary during the past ten years. This implies that a certain adjustment has taken place of the differences, which were formerly pretty considerable, in the mode and standard of living between the middle classes on the one hand and the working classes and subordinate salaried employees on the other.

With regard to the changes in the consumption of foodstuffs, an improvement in the quality of the diet is observable throughout. This is confirmed by an increased consumption of veal and fresh beef

Population and the Standard of Living

amongst working-class families in the rural districts. The consumption of fats has likewise shown a substantial increase, due to the remarkable rise in the consumption of margarine. Further, cheese and eggs play a larger part in the diet, while the consumption of potatoes, salted herring and skimmed milk has gone down. Bacon and unskimmed milk are consumed in somewhat larger quantities now than formerly. The consumption of rye-flour and bolted rye-flour has gone down, whereas the use of baker's bread and of wheaten flour has increased. Finally, the consumption of sugar was higher in 1933 than in 1920. The diet of the rural population has thus become more abundant and, above all, more varied during the period of comparison in question.

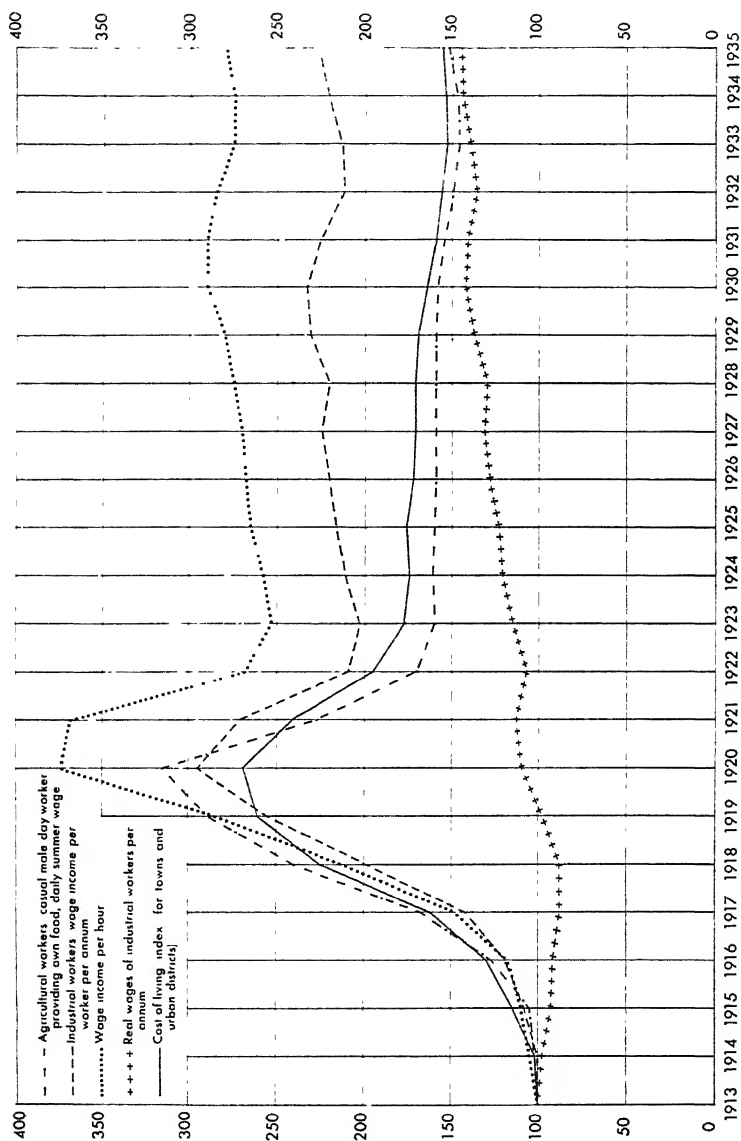
Among working-class and salaried employees' families in urban communities and industrial centres the dietary standard during the years 1923—1933 likewise showed a distinct tendency to rise. Certain differences are noticeable compared with the conditions prevailing in the rural districts. For instance, the change in the consumption of meat and bacon has been one of quality rather than of quantity. A marked falling-off is observed in the consumption of salted herring and milk. Among the other animal foodstuffs that have gained in importance in the urban and industrial workers' economy may be noted primarily margarine, cheese, eggs and, to a certain extent, also butter. There is a reduction in the figures representing the consumption of vegetable foods, with the exception of sugar, fruit and berries. The decline in the consumption of flour, grain and potatoes is remarkably heavy.

Lastly, as regards the middle classes, the consumption figures are now lower throughout than they were about the year 1923 with the exception of fats, cheese, eggs, sugar, fruit and berries, as well as vegetables, all of which commodities are now consumed in greater quantities.

With regard to the standard of housing and kindred questions, the reader is referred to a subsequent chapter dealing with the housing problem (p. 284 et seq.).

The investigations carried out in 1932—33 into the living conditions in households whose income had been seriously reduced owing to the unemployment of the head of the family disclosed the fact that the unavoidable fall of the standard of living finds expression, in the first place, in a very substantial reduction in the family's expenditure on cultural and similar objects, in taxes, society member-

The Trend of Wages and the Rise in the Cost of Living in Sweden 1913-1935.



ship fees and insurance premiums, and in expenditure on non-essentials. On the other hand, the unemployed seem to make every effort to limit as far as possible the lowering of the standard of living which their circumstances compel them to effect, and if possible to maintain the standard of hygiene to which they have been accustomed, obtaining the funds necessary for the purpose by giving up other necessities.

The economic importance of the assistance given to unemployed families by municipal and private relief organizations was immense. This assistance was both absolutely and relatively on a larger scale when the duration of unemployment increased. Among the families hardest hit by unemployment — those in which the breadwinner was unemployed for 8 months and more out of the accounting year — this relief represented no less than about 63 % of the family's total yearly income. In comparison with this percentage it may be mentioned that the corresponding figure for workers' families in normal employment was only 2.3 %. The incomes earned when engaged on relief work and those received out of unemployment relief funds played a highly important part in the family's economy.

To make reliable comparisons between the standards of living in different countries is naturally extremely difficult, on account of the varying habits of life and of the different needs arising from variations in climate, etc. But if an expression of opinion were ventured upon, it could not be other than that — as far as industrial workers in particular are concerned — in Sweden they have attained far better conditions of life than in most other European countries.

I. The Organization of Social Work.

1. The State Social Administration.

It is characteristic of the Swedish State administration that the central administration is divided between the Ministries and Central Administrative Departments, which are subordinate to them but act with a very large measure of independence. The principal task of the Ministries of State is to prepare such business as is to be dealt with by the Cabinet (Council of State) and to put into execution the decisions of the Government. The Ministers, the majority

The Organization of Social Work

of whom are also heads of Ministries, hold their posts as departmental chiefs only as far as the staffs of their respective Ministries are concerned. Such business as is not of a nature to require a Government decision is not usually dealt with by the Ministries but by the Central Administrative Departments established for looking after special branches of the administration. The authority to make final decisions in these Departments is generally vested in a director general or chief director, aided by a member or members usually functioning also as heads of bureaus. The members have to prepare and submit to their chief the business proper to their respective bureaus or departments, in certain cases also to cast their votes when a decision is taken, and they have the right in every case to make a written reservation when they hold an opinion at variance with the decision. Like other ordinary permanent civil servants they are as a rule constitutionally irremovable. Certain exceptions from the principle of irremovability are made as regards heads of Administrative Departments, in that in some cases they can be dismissed by the King or else be appointed for a certain number of years only. There has been a tendency in recent years for the latter form to become the usual one for appointments to such high posts as are considered to make special demands on the competence and efficiency of the holder.

To illustrate the relation between the Government and the Central Administrative Departments, it may also be pointed out that the latter's right of independent decision is limited to the extent that their decisions may be appealed against to the Government and thus be liable to amendment. On the other hand, however, the Government is under an obligation, before making a decision on matters of any importance, to call for expressions of opinion and proposals from the Central Administrative Departments concerned, which thus have the opportunity officially and publicly to set forth their views on the matter in question and often by that means to exercise a decisive influence on the issue.

Since all the business emanating from and passed to the State administrative authorities is, as laid down in the Constitution, accessible to the public, the latter can exercise a constant control over the administration, and this control, thanks largely to the co-operation of the free press, is very effective.

The administrative problems within the social sphere are, in ac-

cordance with the above-mentioned system, assigned in the first place, to the Ministry of Social Affairs set up for that sphere of administration, and in the second place to the Central Administrative Departments belonging to the said Ministry, and in certain cases also to the Administrative Departments subordinate to other Ministries.

The administrative sphere of the *Ministry of Social Affairs* is actually far more extensive than the name implies, this Ministry having also to fulfil certain functions which in other countries are usually assigned to the *Ministry of the Interior* (supervision of local administration, police, etc.). For its various branches of social administration there are the following Central Administrative Departments and similar institutions:

The Medical and Health Board, for matters relating to hygiene and the care of the sick (page 153);

The State Insurance Institution, to deal with social accident insurance and for matters concerning workers' protection (page 113);

The Insurance Council, to deal with disputes concerning the application of accident insurance legislation (page 118);

The Pensions Board, for old-age and invalidity insurance and for matters concerning sickness funds, etc. (page 149);

The Labour Court, established for the settlement of disputes involving the interpretation and application of collective agreements (page 56);

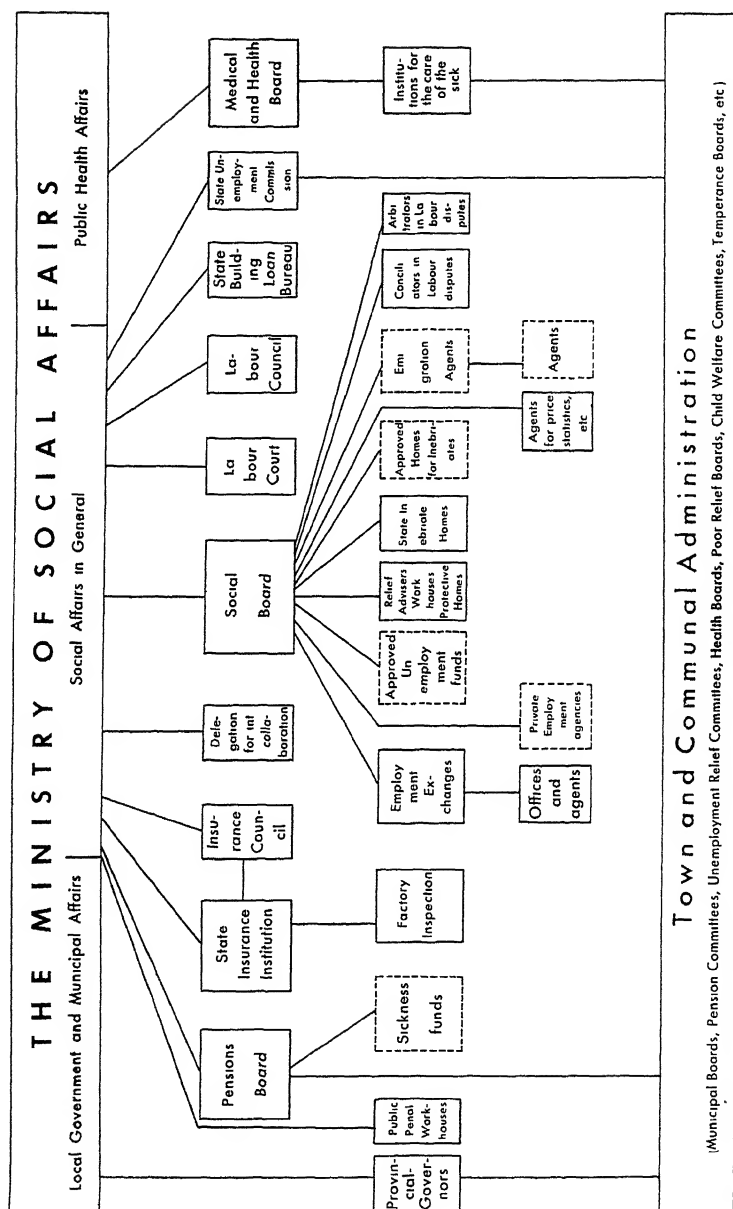
The Labour Council, for matters touching the application of the legislation on hours of work, etc. (page 105);

The Social Board, which is a central authority for dealing with such matters of a social nature as are not specially assigned to any other Administrative Departments. The work of the Board, which thus has an extensive and varied sphere of activity will from 1938 onwards be performed by six bureaus, of which two (the fourth and the fifth bureau) compile official social statistics, and one (the third bureau) looks after matters of legislative nature, while the administrative business devolving upon the Board is distributed among three bureaus in accordance with the following scheme:

The First Bureau: for matters concerning unemployment insurance and employment exchanges;

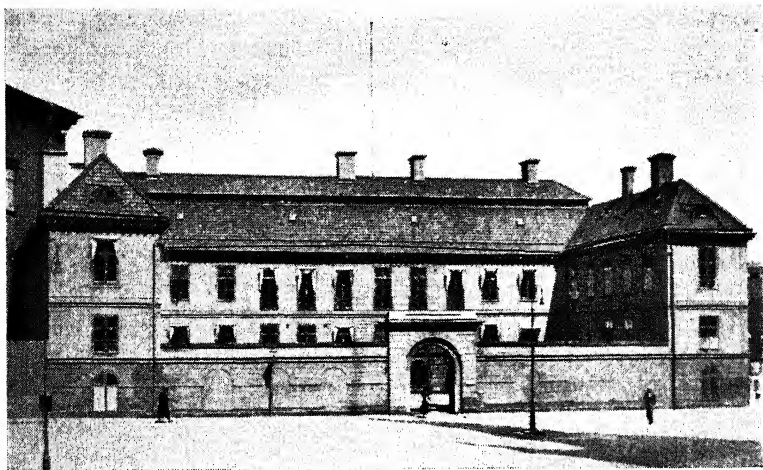
The Second Bureau: for matters concerning poor relief, child welfare, and the care of inebriates;

The Sixth Bureau: for matters concerning aliens.



The State Social Administration

The investigations carried out by the Statistical Bureaus of the Board are included in the Swedish Official Statistics as a special series under the designation of "Social Statistics". Statistics of a recurrent nature, and returns and reports on social questions at home and abroad, are also published in the monthly periodical "Sociala Meddelanden" issued by the Board.



The Offices of the Social Board, Birger Jarls torg 2, Stockholm.

In addition to the Administrative Departments already mentioned there are two administrative bodies of a somewhat provisional character, viz.—

The State Unemployment Commission, which deals with State relief activities for combating unemployment (page 62).

The State Building-Loan-Office, which administers the State grants for subsidizing housing production (page 299).

The functions of the Ministry of Social Affairs include also the handling of such business as is connected with Sweden's membership of the International Labour Organisation and with her representation at the sessions of the Labour Conference. There is now a permanent organ for dealing with business connected with this matter, the *Delegation for International Collaboration in Social Questions*. For the present the head of the Social Board acts as the chairman of the Delegation.

The Organization of Social Work

All the institutions mentioned, with the exception of the Medical and Health Board, have come into existence during the last few decades (the State Insurance Institution in 1902, the Social Board in 1912, the others still more recently). In view of the fact that certain of these institutions take decisions in spheres in which conflicting interests make themselves strongly felt, they have been organized on lines differing to a certain extent from those usually adopted for Administrative Departments in general. Special importance has been attached to giving certain lay elements — especially representatives of employers' and workers' interests — an opportunity of co-operating in decisions on matters concerning them. Thus within the Insurance Council, the Labour Council, the Labour Court, and the Delegation for Collaboration in Social Questions, the right of decision is usually exercised by a body of seven members. Two of them are employers' and two are workers' representatives, all appointed by the Government on the nomination of their chief organizations.

To ministries other than the Ministry of Social Affairs belong, *inter alia*, the following administrative organs of a social character:

The Liquor Control Board (under the Ministry of Finance), which supervises the application of legislation regarding the manufacture and sale of intoxicants (page 204);

The Central Board of Education (attached to the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs), which is the central educational authority (page 321);

The Board of Trade (under the Ministry of Commerce), which is, *inter alia*, the chief authority for the inspection of shipping (page 105), and

The State "Own Homes" Board (under the Ministry of Agriculture), which is the central authority for the small holdings movement (page 271).

2. Private Organizations.

Side by side with the official administrative organs there have been formed in Sweden, as in other countries, several private or semi-official organizations for the different branches of social work. Many of these organizations are dealt with in greater detail in the following pages in connection with the account of the special sphere of activity to which their work belongs. Only some of the most important central

Private Organizations

unions of this kind, therefore, need be mentioned here, especially such as have not specialized in any particular branch of social work but carry out a programme of a more general character.

Among these organizations the *Central Association for Social Work*, formed in 1903, stands in a class by itself. This association, as its name implies, was intended to be a union of societies or groups of societies working for social progress or with practical social work as their object. It formerly embraced a considerable number of organizations (up to about 70) of varying size. As its somewhat heterogeneous composition was found to involve certain difficulties in the work of the association, it was reorganized in 1922, the number of organizations which were admitted to membership of the association and had a voice in the conduct of its affairs being limited to 10, representing different branches of the activities of the Central Association. These organizations, each in its own sphere occupying a representative position as a national union of local units, are the following:

- 1) The People's Educational Association (the central lecture bureau in Stockholm, mentioned on page 341).
- 2) The Swedish Poor Relief and Child Welfare Association (page 232).
- 3) The Fredrika Bremer Society, a women's organization founded in 1884 and named after the authoress Fredrika Bremer, with the object of working in various ways for the amelioration of the social position of women.
- 4) The Swedish Sickness Funds' Federation (page 135).
- 5) The Co-operative Union (page 308).
- 6) The Central Association for Temperance Teaching (page 199).
- 7) The Swedish Anti-Tuberculosis Association (page 169).
- 8) The Swedish Towns Association.
- 9) The Swedish Rural Districts Association (of country communes).
- 10) The Swedish Provincial Councils Union.

As implied by the names, the three last-mentioned organizations constitute unions of the urban and rural communes and of provincial councils, the objects of which are to carry out investigations and furnish the communes and towns belonging to them with information on questions of municipal administration and to watch over their mutual interests outside the local sphere, especially vis-à-vis the State authorities. *The Institute for Education and Research in Social Questions* (page 346), founded in Stockholm in 1920, may be

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mentioned as one of the important results of the co-operation between these unions and the Central Association for Social Work. It may also be mentioned that in 1931 there was instituted, in intimate association with the Central Association, an organization called *The Joint Committee for International Social Work*, whose object is to promote and facilitate the maintenance of the different social organizations' relations with abroad.

In addition to the national unions, the *Swedish Red Cross* should be mentioned first amongst the organizations with wider aims. The activities of this society naturally are mainly concerned, of course, with the spheres of Hygiene and the Care of the Sick (see page 160), but it has also taken up a more extensive social and philanthropic work, embracing amongst other things assistance to the needy in specially serious cases of unemployment and in other cases of pressing need. In this connection should further be mentioned the non-political women's organizations working side by side with the Fredrika Bremer Society, *The Swedish Women's Citizens League* and *The National Federation of Swedish Housewives' Associations*. The former may be regarded as a successor to the National Society for Women's Suffrage, which was dissolved after the passing of the law enfranchising women in 1921. Its chief object is to continue the said Society's propaganda work with a view to increasing women's interest in and knowledge of public affairs, with special reference to the importance of qualifying women for official positions, and to promote the interests of women in the labour market. The Housewife's Federation, founded in 1919, pursues similar propaganda work and educational activities in regard to women's work in the home and in the family. The Federation co-operates with corresponding organizations in the other Northern countries.

Other social organizations with more specialized functions are dealt with in subsequent chapters.

II. Employers and Workers.

1. System of Organizations and Agreements.

Labour Organizations. In Sweden, as in other countries, the idea of unions for trade purposes spread first among the workers, and was afterwards adopted by the employers. The Swedish trade union movement started in the 'eighties and was modelled upon the corresponding movements in Denmark and Germany and is most closely identified with the Anglo-Germanic type of trade union movement. One exception, however, is the syndicalistic trend (see below), of which the French labour organizations are the direct prototypes.

Originally, local trade unions were formed, which at first combined by districts. It was soon realized, however, that if the workers practising the same trade were consolidated throughout the whole country, this would be a more stable foundation for the trade union movement, and accordingly at the end of the 'eighties the national trade union federations were formed, the first one in the printing trade (1886). In 1899 the movement was further consolidated by the formation of a joint central organization, the *Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions*, which in turn joined in 1903 the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Whereas during the earlier years of the trade union movement the principle of consolidation by trades formed the strongest bond of union between the members, so that where a number of trades were represented in an industrial enterprise the workers generally belonged to as many different organizations, in recent years the tendency has been for all the workers engaged in a particular industry to amalgamate in one single union. On repeated occasions the Congress of the Confederation has expressed itself in favour of reorganization along these lines in accordance with the principle of industrial unionism, the superiority of which over the earlier form of organization is deemed to lie chiefly in the fact that it has permitted the workers to show a more united front when negotiating with the employers and their organizations. In quite a number of trade unions, however, objections have been raised to the organizational changes which the reform would neces-

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sitate, and it may therefore only be possible to carry it through step by step and in a substantially modified form.

The *Confederation of Trade Unions* nowadays embraces the bulk of the organized workers in Sweden. At the beginning of 1936, 42 national federations belonged to it, comprising a total of 701,000 members. There are a small number of trade unions (with a total membership of 30,000) which for economic or tactical reasons have not formally associated themselves with the Confederation, yet which in principle do not, generally speaking, adopt an oppositional attitude towards it. The only fraction of importance within the trade union movement which from an organizational point of view is in opposition to the Confederation is the syndicalist group (about 30,000), which has formed a separate national organization, *The Central Organization of Swedish Workers*, consisting of joint local organizations with a fairly considerable measure of independence, particularly in regard to taking action against the employers. The attempts which have been made in several instances to form labour organizations with a less aggressive attitude towards the employers, with a Christian, "patriotic", or middle-class liberal appeal, have not produced any lasting results. The only existing organization of this type worth mentioning is the *National Association for the Liberty of Labour*, which is apparently concentrated chiefly in the forest districts of Norrland, the members of which, however, very largely consist of independent farmers who have come into conflict with organized labour on account of their competition for employment during the lumbering season.

Another agricultural association, which has also taken upon itself to look after the interests of members as wage-earners, is the *Farmers' National Association* (about 60,000 members). This organization, whose activities have been mainly directed towards promoting the establishment of farmers' economic societies, has in a number of cases in recent years been instrumental also in drawing up collective agreements on behalf of its members, chiefly in connection with road-construction and lumbering. Unlike the National Association for the Liberty of Labour, the Farmers' National Association, when negotiating for agreements, has not infrequently co-operated with the trade unions belonging to the Confederation.

Besides the working classes proper, large groups of salaried employees in public and private undertakings have in the last few decades likewise organized themselves on trade union lines with a view

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to watching over the interests of the members vis-à-vis their employers. A number of these organizations — especially those composed of Government employees in the lower grades — have joined the Confederation of Trade Unions, while certain others formed in 1931 a separate national association, the Central Organization of Salaried



The Headquarters of the Labour Organizations at Barnhusgatan 18, Stockholm.

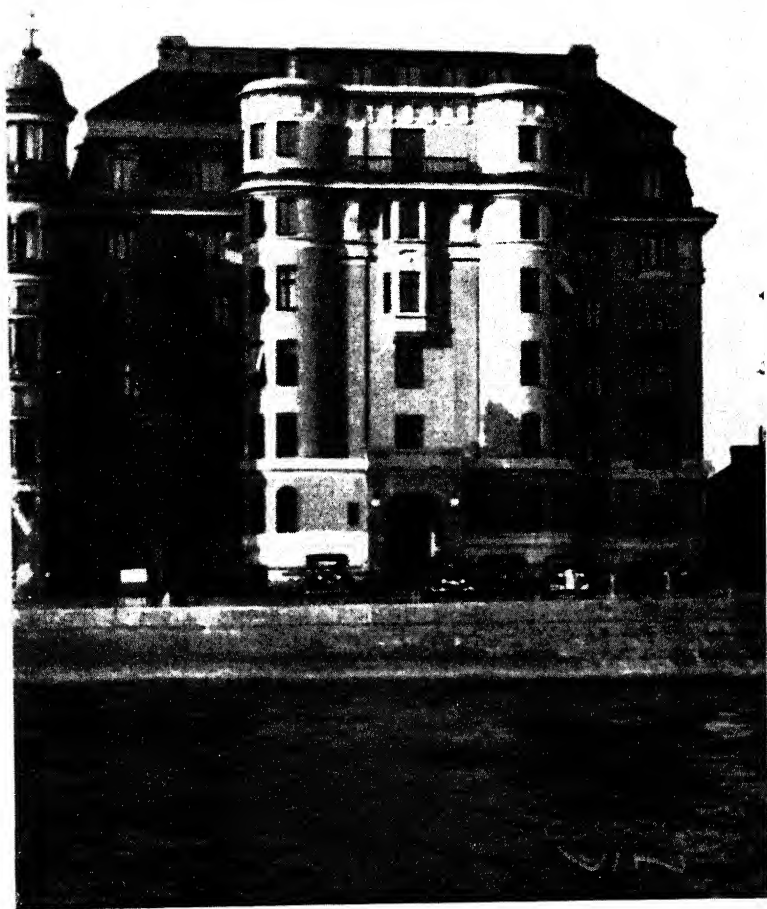
Employees' Associations ("DACO"), which has served a useful purpose, notably in watching the interests of the member groups during the investigations carried out in recent years preparatory to the passing of social legislation, especially that relating to collective bargaining, labour contracts, etc.

During the whole period of its development the Swedish trade union movement has kept in close touch with the *Social-Democratic Labour Party*. Ever since the party was formed (1889), its members have largely consisted of workers organized according to trades, who through their local trade union have collectively joined the local sections of the party, the so-called labour communes. It is estimated that at present about 30 % of Sweden's organized workers are thus collectively associated with the Social-Democratic Party. In cases of collective accession to the party, individual trade union members who

are of a different political opinion have a "right of reservation", which includes exemption from subscribing to the party organization. This right of reservation, however, has not generally been taken advantage of to any extent, except by trade union members who are adherents of the *Communist* or the *Socialist* Party (the latter formerly Communist but not a member of the Communist International). These members have in fact, on several occasions on which they have succeeded in gaining a more or less temporary majority in the trade union, secured the abolition of collective accession. On the other hand, the propaganda carried on for the amalgamation of the trade unions with the Communistic "red" international federation of trade unions has not been successful.

Employers' Organizations. The organization of the Swedish employers is somewhat more recent than that of the workers, and was originally more in the nature of a defensive alliance against the growing power of the trade unions. A political general strike which broke out in 1902 is considered to have been one of the main factors in removing the apprehensions previously entertained by many employers about placing themselves in the hands of an organization. Of the various associations of employers started in that year and in succeeding years, and which to begin with were mutually competitive, the *Swedish Employers' Federation*, originally intended for the large manufacturing industries, has gradually assumed a predominant position. The Federation consists, like the Confederation of Trade Unions, of a number of industrial associations, some of which had previously been independent organizations. The number of associated employers aggregated (1936) about 4,000, employing altogether about 320,000 workers.

The rules of the Swedish Employers' Federation invest its management with wide powers in the conduct of relations between the associated employers and their workmen, and each member has to undertake considerable financial obligations towards the association. In this respect centralization has gone to far greater lengths than it has on the labour side, where the separate trade unions assume a decidedly more independent attitude towards the central organization. Moreover, one result of the far-reaching demands which the Employers' Federation lays upon the economic solidarity of its members has been that associations of employers of a more handicraft type (bakers, tailors, painters, etc.) have not as a rule been able to join, or at any



*The Swedish Employers Federation's Headquarters at Södra Blasieholms-
hamn 4 a, Stockholm.*

rate have not been able to retain their membership for any length of time. Similarly, the Federation's insistence that members shall bind themselves, when necessary, to participate in lock-outs has prevented employers from joining who belong to trades in which the taking of aggressive action of that nature would — 'for technical or economic reasons — be out of the question, or would at any rate be calculated to create serious inconvenience (farmers, newspaper publishers, private railways, shipping companies, etc.). The Swedish Employers' Federation, however, co-operates with the farmers' and shipping employers' associations through the medium of a committee set up for the purpose, *The Advisory Council of the Swedish Employers' Federations*. The Federation is likewise in close co-operation with the employers' federations in the other Northern countries and is also, like them, a member of the International Federation of Industrial Employers, formed for the purpose of concerted action at the International Labour Conference.

A special position amongst the employers' associations is held by *The Swedish Towns' Negotiating Organization*, which, as the name indicates, is a negotiating organ of the municipal authorities for dealing with questions relating to agreements with the municipal workers. About 40 municipalities permanently employing about 17,000 workmen belong to the organization.

Right of Association and Negotiation. By an Act passed on the 11th September 1936, and which became operative on the 1st January 1937, the right of trade association and negotiation was given statutory recognition. The Act is applicable to the relations between employers and employees, not, however, to such employees in government and municipal service as are in positions of official responsibility.

The right of association is to be kept inviolate. The Act does not lay down any exact definition of the term right of association. Nor does it state what is to be regarded as violation of that right. Any person violating the right of association is liable to pay compensation for any damages caused thereby. The provisions of the Act do not prevent the insertion in agreements of a clause prohibiting a foreman from becoming a member of an association the object of which is to look after the interests of the staff working under him vis-à-vis their employer.

According to § 4 of the Act, by right of negotiation is meant the right to demand the opening of negotiations for settling terms of employment, as well as regarding the relations between employer and employee generally. Such right — which involves liability for the opposite party to enter into negotiations — is exercisable by any union of workers, employer or association of employers. These provisions are binding. The exact nature of the consequences of a refusal to negotiate is not specified in the law beyond the fact that, in the event of negotiations being arranged for by a State conciliator, any party who fails to fulfil his liability to negotiate may, according to the Act concerning conciliation in labour disputes, be reported to the Labour Court, which is empowered to order the party to fulfil the obligation incumbent upon him, default making him liable to a penalty.

Besides the general right of negotiation, the Act establishes (chap. 3) a special right of negotiation under certain specified conditions. The central organization of employees may, by giving notice to the Social Board, make a declaration to the effect that the organization undertakes to keep the peace for a given period, at least two years. If such notice is given, then the opposite party — the employer — is likewise bound by the undertaking to keep the peace. A breach of this undertaking entails liability to pay damages. If the parties thus bound fail to reach agreement on any question under negotiation, the Social Board shall, at the request of the central organization, appoint an impartial chairman to conduct the negotiations. It is incumbent upon a party when summoned by the chairman, at the risk of the imposition of a penalty in case of default, to attend negotiations and to submit reasoned proposals for a settlement of the question in dispute. If agreement cannot be reached in the course of these negotiations, the chairman may counsel the parties to refer the matter to the binding decision of arbitrators. Should this counsel not be followed, the chairman shall, at the instance of either party, request the Social Board to appoint a board of arbitration to draw up recommendations for the settlement of the question at issue. Thereupon it rests with the Social Board to appoint members of the board of arbitration — at least three in number —, who will then make such recommendations, based on the minutes taken during the negotiations and on the report of the impartial chairman. If the recommendations of the board of arbitration are not acceptable to both parties, then

the undertaking to keep the peace, as far as the question at issue is concerned, lapses, should either party have notified both the other party and the Social Board of the intention to resort to "direct or militant action". If a party has announced its intention to resort to direct action, the Social Board may instruct the impartial chairman appointed by the Board to follow the course of the dispute and, if any change in the situation should warrant his doing so, to invite the parties to reopen negotiations. The Act concerning conciliation in labour disputes does not apply to disputes between parties whose case, through being reported to the Social Board, falls within the scope of these special regulations governing the right of negotiation.

Actions concerned with the application of the Act relating to the right of association and negotiation are heard and decided by the Labour Court.

Conciliation in Labour Disputes. The system of conciliation was introduced by the Act of the 31st December 1906 relating to mediation in labour disputes. This Act was replaced in 1920 by the Act now in force, which constitutes a revision of the original law on certain points but which in its main principles conforms closely to it. Subsequently, in 1931, 1935 and 1936, special amendments have been added to the Act.

The essential purport of this legislation is that the State authorities place at the disposal of the parties on the labour market certain organs whose function it is, not to pronounce judgments binding on the parties in any disputes that may arise, but to endeavour to induce them to settle their disputes without recourse to direct action. The provisions of the Act do not invest in the conciliation organs powers of such scope and authority as to curtail the parties' free and independent right of decision. Nor has the conciliator authority to prohibit stoppages of work or other direct action. The significance of the system of conciliation does not lie primarily in the implications of the law governing it but rather in the personal qualities of the conciliator. The official position accorded a conciliator lends authority to his activities, but for conciliation to be successful the first essential is that the conciliator shall gain the confidence of the parties by his personality and by his strict impartiality and powers of discrimination.

According to the Conciliation Act, if a labour dispute has arisen involving, or threatening to involve, a more or less serious cessation

of work, it is the duty of the State conciliator to make himself acquainted with the nature of the dispute, to summon the disputants to open negotiations and to endeavour in the course thereof to bring about a settlement of the dispute. Conciliation is not obligatory. The question of the conciliator's intervention depends on whether, in his judgment, his taking the initiative can serve any useful purpose. In 1931 a clause was added to the Act imposing upon the conciliator the duty of intervening in a dispute if an employer or an organization comprising at least half of the workers affected by the dispute request him to do so. This latter provision, the immediate purpose of which was to promote recognition of the right of negotiation in the case of certain workers' unions, has proved to have but little significance, at any rate from the point of view of industrial peace.

An Act promulgated on the 11th September 1936, and which came into force on the 1st January 1937, restricts the application of the Conciliation Act insofar that it is not operative in the case of employers and workers to whom the provisions laid down in chap. 3 of the Act relating to the right of association and negotiation apply.

In regard to the negotiations held in the presence of a State conciliator the Act lays down that their primary object shall be to bring about an agreement on the basis of any offer or proposal that may be submitted by the parties in the course of the negotiations, it being the conciliator's function, if and to the extent that it may be deemed likely to promote a satisfactory settlement of the dispute, to endeavour to induce the parties to make such adjustments or concessions as may seem expedient for the purpose in view. In conjunction with the passing of the Act relating to the right of association and negotiation, an addition has been made to this clause, to take effect as from the 1st January 1937, in the following terms:

"If in the course of the negotiations brought about by a conciliator either of the disputing parties fails to fulfil the obligation incumbent upon him in pursuance of § 4, para. 2, of the Act relating to the right of association and negotiation, the conciliator may, at the instance of the other party, report the case to the Labour Court; and the Labour Court is empowered to order the party, under the penalty of a fine in case of default, to fulfil his obligation, and also, upon representations from the conciliator, to impose the fine. Such fine shall accrue to the Crown and, in the absence of resources out of which to pay it, shall be commuted in accordance with the common Penal Code".

The measure of compulsion thus introduced into the Conciliation Act does not, however, affect the principles governing the conciliation procedure, seeing that it is, on the whole, still dependent upon free initiative, and the parties' right of decision in the material sense is not restricted by the provisions in § 4 of the Act touching the right of association and negotiation.

By an Act passed on the 8th July 1935, and which came into force on the 1st October of that year, there was embodied in the Conciliation Act a provision concerning notification of a stoppage of work. Before a resolution to cease work is put into effect, provided there is no valid obstacle in the way, notice of the intended action shall be given to the opposing party as well as to the State conciliator or, if the dispute comes within the province of several conciliators, to one of them not later than on the seventh day prior to the date on which the action is to commence. The notice shall contain a statement giving the reason for the action. Non-fulfilment of these regulations is punishable with a fine up to a maximum of 300 kronor. Proceedings for non-fulfilment are heard in a Common Court and are taken against the offender by the Public Prosecutor. All fines imposed accrue to the Crown. In the absence of resources out of which to pay them, the fines are commuted in accordance with the common Penal Code.

For the purposes of the system of conciliation the country is divided into seven districts, with a *State conciliator* appointed by the Government in each district. On account of the strong concentration obtaining in the sphere of agreements, a labour dispute often has repercussions affecting more than one district. In such cases instructions to conciliate are given either to one of the conciliators concerned or else to a special conciliator or a conciliation committee, usually composed of two or more of the regular conciliators and possibly one or more independent persons, often such persons as have come to be acknowledged as authorities in the field in question in virtue of their previous activities as conciliators. The Act also makes provision for the possibility of appointing a permanent conciliator to deal with all disputes arising within a certain industry, but this provision has so far never been put into practice, as it has been found that the abovementioned system of temporary appointments offers greater facilities for apportioning the task of conciliation in the way most suitable for coping with each case as it arises. The necessary supervision in this

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province is exercised by the Social Board, which has instituted a special secretariat (the Conciliator's Office), the purpose of which is to assist the State conciliators in their task.

The following figures, which refer to the years after the present Act came into force (1921—1935), illustrate the range of activity of the conciliators:

Average per year	Cases of negotiation		Workers affected	
	No.	%	No.	%
Disputes not involving stoppage of work	102	55	91,355	69
Disputes involving stoppage of work	82	45	41,488	31
Total	184	100	132,843	100

The chief value of the system of conciliation has been found to lie in the settling of what are called disputes over interests, although in principle the legislative measures cover all kinds of labour disputes, including, that is to say, disputes over rights (interpretation of collective agreements, etc.). As a result of the passing of the Acts relating to collective agreements and the Labour Court (see pp. 54 & 56), the necessity for a conciliator's intervention in disputes of the last-mentioned kind has become more and more rare. Moreover, since these Acts were passed, less frequent recourse has been had to the voluntary system of arbitration courts in disputes over rights. With a view to supporting the arbitration court system there was passed at the same time as the Conciliation Act of 1920 an Act relating to special *arbitrators in labour disputes*. The arbitrators created by this Act — at present there are 6 — are appointed by the Government for a certain period, usually from among the permanent judges in different parts of the country. They may either alone decide the question in dispute submitted to them or else act as chairmen of the boards of arbitration set up by the parties — whichever alternative the parties prefer. Like the conciliators, they have to submit to the Social Board an annual report on their activities.

Stoppages of Work. Direct action on the labour market is of various kinds: stoppages of work, blockades, boycotting. The official statistics account for only such direct action as has taken the form of stoppages of work, i. e. strikes, lockouts and "mixed" disputes.

Employers and Workers

In order to illustrate the proportions assumed by stoppages of work in recent years, the following annual averages may be quoted for the period 1921—1935:

Average per year	Stoppages of work	Workers affected	Working- days lost
Strikes	193	26,485	1,473,900
Lockouts	9	14,454	388,900
Mixed disputes	11	7,001	493,700
	213	47,940	2,356,500

During this period certain years in particular stand out as being notable years of conflict as regards the dimensions assumed by the stoppages of work, viz. — 1923 and 1928, when both the number of working-days lost through disputes (about 7 and 5 million respectively) and the number of workers affected (about 103,000 and 71,000 respectively) were considerable, and also the years 1922 and, still more conspicuously, 1925, when many workers (about 76,000 and 146,000 respectively) were affected by disputes, although the number of lost working-days was relatively not so serious. To go back further in time, 1909 is especially noteworthy as the year of the general strike, when over 300,000 workers were involved and nearly 12 million working days were lost, and also the year 1920, when the corresponding figures were 139,000 and 9 million. During the years 1934 and 1935 the figures representing lost working-days have been unusually low — 760,000 and 788,000 respectively. In the aggregate it is estimated that during the years for which official statistics are available (1903—1935) the number of working-days lost through stoppages of work was about 70 million.

The predominant cause of stoppages is wage problems. If we examine the number of workers affected we find that in most years questions of an increase or a reduction in wages have been the chief cause of the stoppage of work in 75 to 85 % of the cases.

Collective Agreements. In our country the system of collective agreements has been very widely adopted for the regulation of labour conditions. As early as around the turn of the century this form of agreement had come into widespread use, and, apart from a temporary decline in certain years, there has been a steady expansion both in the number and in the scope of collective agreements. At the turn of the

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year 1935—1936 the Social Board registered in its agreement records no less than 6,720 agreements, affecting 27,188 employers and 719,433 workers.

	No. as at 31/12 each year				No. as at 31/12 each year		
	agree- ments in force	employ- ers	work- ers		agree- ments in force	employ- ers	work- ers
1907	1,971	11,241	255,950	1922	1,762	10,923	312,765
1908	2,365	12,936	318,190	1923	1,975	11,437	391,197
1909	1,765	9,410	254,000	1924	2,214	12,614	413,181
1910	1,617	9,289	251,625	1925	2,455	13,610	451,592
1911	1,476	8,547	229,792	1926	2,617	14,300	464,503
1912	1,457	8,240	226,885	1927	2,960	16,502	494,625
1913	1,448	8,300	233,020	1928	3,326	17,388	512,542
1914	1,408	8,168	244,390	1929	3,916	19,316	541,403
1915	1,457	8,320	255,731	1930	4,422	20,185	580,931
1916	1,586	8,305	265,517	1931	5,288	23,819	618,034
1917	1,779	9,070	297,346	1932	5,806	24,630	636,138
1918	2,041	10,549	316,772	1933	5,635	22,782	596,563
1919	2,154	11,532	378,889	1934	6,288	25,864	674,700
1920	2,278	12,771	437,587	1935	6,720	27,188	719,433
1921	1,876	11,105	348,675				

We notice from the above table, *inter alia*, that during the past decade the number of collective agreements has shown a relatively more rapid increase than the number of employers and workers affected. Thus, agreements having only local application and operating at individual workplaces have latterly come into being on a particularly large scale. This development further implies that the agreements entered into on the employers' side by unorganized employers have become relatively more numerous. Whereas formerly the collective agreement movement principally concerned large-scale undertakings which were members of employers' associations, since the 1920's this form of agreement has come into use also in smaller undertakings, which previously had no contact with modern forms of organization and collective bargaining.

The system of collective agreements first gained ground in industry, and also in the building trades and in certain sections of the transport services. It has subsequently been adopted in the lumbering industry, notably in the central parts of the country, in agriculture and trade, as well as in State and municipal employment. The agreements in

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force govern as a rule the conditions of employment of manual workers, although other categories of employees (shop assistants, office clerks, etc.) are likewise affected thereby to a certain extent.

As regards their sphere of validity, collective agreements are generally divided into four groups: national agreements, district agreements, local agreements and agreements for individual workplaces. The agreements in operation at the end of 1935 were distributed amongst these groups as follows:

	No. of agreements	No. of workers
National agreements	52	248,002
District agreements	69	76,840
Local agreements	1,490	108,391
Agreements for individual workplaces	5,109	286,200

As to the period of validity of collective agreements — a matter of special importance from the standpoint of industrial peace — it appears from the Social Board's statistics that during the years 1908—1916 the great majority of the agreements were for a longer period than one year. Of the agreements concluded in 1910—1913 about 75 % had a period of validity of three to five years. On the other hand, during the later stages of the Great War, and still more during the difficult post-war years, one-year agreements were the most common (over 95 % in 1921 and 1922). After that the agreement periods were extended, so that during the revival in 1928—1930 the period of validity in the case of 40—50 % of the agreements was over one year. The recent economic depression again gave rise to shorter agreement periods. About 80 % of the agreements concluded in 1932 and 1933 covered at the most a year. During the last two years (1934 and 1935) a decided tendency towards a longer agreement period has again been noticeable. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the period of validity fixed when the agreements are signed and the actual duration of the agreements are identical. If no notice to terminate is given, an agreement may last beyond the original period of validity. Actually, this occurs in a considerable number of cases.

The Labour Court is composed of a president and six members, who are appointed by the Crown. The president and two members are selected from amongst persons who cannot be deemed to represent employers' or workers' interests. The president and one of the mem-

bers, who is appointed vice-president, must be versed in the law and experienced in judicial procedure, while the second member must possess special knowledge and experience of labour conditions and industrial relations. Of the four remaining members, who must have experience and knowledge of labour conditions, two are appointed on the recommendation of the Advisory Council of the Swedish Employers' Federations and two on the recommendation of the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions.

It is the duty of the Labour Court to see that the cases brought before it are concluded without unnecessary delay and, if possible, decided after only one day in Court. No appeal is allowed against the decisions of the Court.

During the period 1929—1935 there were brought before the Labour Court 1,272 actions, of which the employers brought 238 and the workers 1,026, while 8 cases were referred to the Court by the parties jointly.

The Act Relating to Collective Agreements contains, in substance, only a summary of the judicial rules that had already been formulated in the sphere of collective agreements. However, these rules have been modified in certain respects, primarily in regard to the right of the parties to take direct action and in regard to the liability to damages of a party committing a breach of the agreement.

On the first point it is laid down that employers and workers who are bound by a collective agreement may not resort to direct action on account of a dispute as to the validity, continued force or correct interpretation of the agreement or on account of a dispute as to whether a certain procedure conflicts with the terms of the agreement or with the stipulations of the Act relating to collective agreements. Nor may direct action be taken in order to bring about an alteration in the terms of the agreement or in order to enforce a regulation intended to come into force after the expiry of the agreement or to assist another person in cases in which the latter is not entitled to take direct action. If an association or a member thereof is bound by a collective agreement, the association may not organize or otherwise give rise to such direct action as has been declared above to be illegal, nor may it participate, by giving financial support or by other means, in any illegal direct action taken by a member. Moreover, it is the duty of an association that is itself bound by a collective agreement to endeavour

to prevent its members from taking unlawful direct action or, if such has already been taken, to seek to induce them to abandon it. The provisions relating to the right to resort to direct action may not — as in the case with the other provisions of the Collective Agreements Act — be made inoperative by agreement between the parties but shall hold good even if the agreement contains provisions in conflict therewith.

On the subject of liability to pay damages it is laid down that an employer, worker or association that neglects the obligations undertaken in a collective agreement or in pursuance of the Collective Agreements Act shall pay any damages arising out of such neglect. When a decision has to be made as to whether any damages have arisen, and if so to what extent, the interest of maintaining the agreement and other similar circumstances than such as are of purely economic importance must also be taken into consideration. When determining the amount of damages, the Labour Court is permitted to deviate from rules that are otherwise operative; it being laid down that if, in consideration of the smallness of the blame attaching to the party who has caused the damage, or of any connection the party suffering the damage may have had with the starting of the dispute, or the extent of the damage or any other attendant circumstances, there is deemed to be reason for doing so, the amount of the damages may be reduced or full exemption from liability to pay damages may be allowed. In no case may an individual worker be sentenced to pay in damages any amount in excess of 200 kronor.

2. Employment and Unemployment.

General View of the Labour Market. In spite of the rapid development of industry, trade and communications during the past fifty years, agriculture still supports two-fifths of the population of the country. About two-thirds of the adults employed in agriculture consist of farmer-owners and their children living at home, and amongst these farmers the peasant farmers and smallholders are in the majority. The predominant feature of Swedish agriculture is peasant-farming, a fact that lends a special measure of stability to the conditions on the labour market. Further, the labour contracts in agriculture are still largely valid — in accordance with usage and earlier laws — for a whole production-year (expiring at the end of

October); they constitute a relatively strong bond of union between the parties and give a certain security as regards employment and conditions of labour. Consequently, seasonal unemployment, which might otherwise be expected on a very large scale as a result of the long, cold winters, is not so acutely felt in Swedish agriculture, although the trend of price and marketing conditions prevailing during the latter part of the 1920's was such as to necessitate, in part, the abandonment of the 12-month term of service in favour of seasonal engagements during the summer half of the year. As, moreover, most of the country contains extensive forestlands, the more mobile sections of farm labour, as well as those small farmers who are dependent for their livelihood on cash earnings derived from other employment, are generally able to obtain work in the great lumbering districts during the winter months, when close on 200,000 men are engaged in normal years.

As regards industry in general, increasing industrialization has destroyed the patriarchal relations which existed between employer and employee — a fact which has, naturally, increased mobility on the labour market. In this respect, however, there is a great difference between the larger industrial centres and the special industrial undertakings in rural districts. More than half the Swedish industrial workers are employed by undertakings which are situated in the country in the immediate vicinity of those sources of raw materials (timber, ore, stone, etc.) or water-power on which they depend. The great sawmill, pulp, mining, iron and stone industries, as well as the power stations, are thus almost exclusively found in rural areas, where a large proportion of the labour supply remains from one generation to another in the same place. These industries generally also own farms and forests, where the workmen can often be provided with temporary employment when industrial production has to be reduced. One result of this greater stability amongst the workers is that many of them own their own homes or are provided with dwellings by the employer.

The labour market is not so stabilized within such industries as are located in the larger communities. This is especially the case amongst unskilled workers and in the building and transport trades, which are specially lively during the six summer months, whereas their activities are much restricted in the winter months. Regular unemployment within these trades occurs especially during the months January—March, when the winter is most severe and most of the northern ports

are ice-bound, but the effects of this unemployment are partially mitigated by the wages paid, which are generally higher than those obtaining in other trades. However, a large number of the workmen in these trades, who are accustomed to heavy outdoor work, are employed for winter work in the forests belonging to the State or to private companies.

The demand for labour on the Swedish labour market as a whole is clearly concentrated within the six summer months. Although seasonal unemployment during the winter is partly offset by the work then going on in the forests, it nevertheless stands out as a marked feature of the labour market in Sweden.

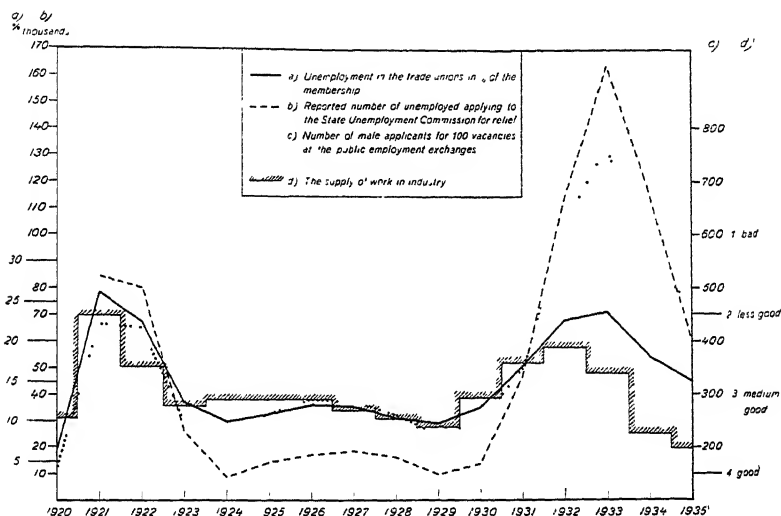
Unemployment and Remedial Measures. Mass unemployment was relatively unknown in Sweden before the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. The post-war crisis brought with it disturbances, which however were of comparatively short duration. After the boom years 1928 and 1929 Sweden began to feel the effects of the crisis that was reflected in the breakdown of international confidence, and whose reactions were further intensified during 1931 by the events that occurred in that year in the sphere of monetary policy. Unemployment increased uninterruptedly and in the winter of 1932/33 was on a far greater scale than during the post-war crisis (in March 1933 there were about 186,000 unemployed). After that an improvement set in — at first slowly, but with increasing rapidity after a year or so.

The diagram given below illustrates the changes in the level of unemployment and the general situation on the labour market in recent years.

Data supplied partly by the trade unions and partly by the State Unemployment Commission have here served as a basis for calculating the volume of unemployment. Neither of these sources of information, however, affords complete particulars as to the number of unemployed throughout the country. The trade union figures are confined only to the organized workers — and even they are not fully accounted for — and moreover are influenced to a certain extent by the wide differences in the various organizations' rules governing the circumstances under which a member shall be deemed to be unemployed. The Unemployment Commission's statistics, on the other hand, include only such unemployed as have been registered as applying to the Commission's local offices for relief. The result is that all unemployed

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in such localities as possess no relief organization and such persons as are either unable or unwilling to become recipients of relief, and therefore do not apply to their respective local organization, are excluded. In order to endeavour to fill the gaps existing in the current unemployment statistics there have been carried out on certain occa-



The development of the Labour Market 1920—1935.

sions so-called non-recurrent investigations into the extent of unemployment. In May 1927, for instance, a general unemployment census was taken, combined with exhaustive inquiries in certain communes. This form of investigation has yielded a large amount of valuable data throwing light on the problem of unemployment, on the personal circumstances under which the unemployed live, the duration of their unemployment, etc., but it is impossible to obtain a complete survey of the extent of unemployment along these lines. Moreover, one weak point about such investigations is that the results are always more or less influenced by economic conditions of a temporary and seasonal nature.

The point of greatest value afforded by the more exhaustive investigations is the insight they give into the qualitative composition of the groups that are most liable to unemployment. Interesting re-

sults have been obtained on this point, especially from the local investigations carried out in connection with the unemployment census of 1927.

The applicants for relief registered with the local unemployment committees have on various occasions been the subject of inquiry with a view to ascertaining the distribution by age and occupation, and on the 31st July in each of the years 1935 and 1936 exhaustive investigations were made into the civil condition, age and occupation of the registered unemployed — 42,600 and 21,800 respectively — the organizations to which they belonged, the length of time they had been out of work, their capacity for work both in their own particular occupation and as labourers, the date at which those applying for relief moved into the commune in which they were living and also the nature of the relief granted them.

The only measure of any importance for combating unemployment resorted to by the public authorities before the War was the institution and development of the public employment exchanges as an organ for regulating the supply of and demand for labour (see below). To facilitate their functions these exchanges were empowered to advance to those seeking work their travelling expenses, the State contributing about one-half of the expenditure involved. Otherwise no relief was payable by the State to unemployed persons, but certain communes that were periodically severely affected by seasonal unemployment gave relief to their unemployed in the form of publicly organized relief works or by distributing supplies of necessities; besides which, the poor relief authorities had in some cases to come to the rescue.

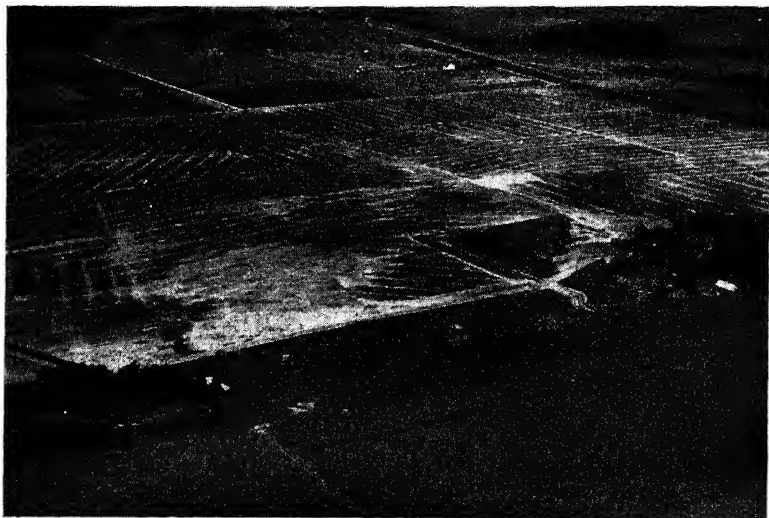
The Relief of Unemployment. As it was foreseen at the outbreak of the Great War that special difficulties would arise in the labour market, a *State Unemployment Commission* was appointed for the purpose of taking steps towards alleviating and relieving unemployment. All communes affected by unemployment were authorized to appoint *communal unemployment relief committees* for dealing with these matters. On a proposal submitted by the Unemployment Commission, the Riksdag voted a grant for carrying on specially organized relief of the unemployed. The initiative for the organization of such relief work has to be taken by the commune concerned, but in order to obtain State aid — for-



The Soten Canal under Construction as a State Reserve Work.

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merly amounting to one-half of the expenditure but nowadays ranging from 10 to 95 % of the total outlay — it is necessary (since the summer of 1921) to obtain the Unemployment Commission's authority to start the work. No unemployed person is entitled to claim relief as a right, but the committees grant it only after



The Svarteberg Aerodrome under Construction as a State Reserve Work.

considering the needs of each individual case, due regard being paid to the involuntary character of the unemployment and to the applicant's readiness to accept work. Certain basic principles have been laid down with this end in view; for instance, it is stipulated that the unemployed person must be above the age of 16 (prior to the 31st July 1933 the age limit was 15), he must be capable of work and otherwise not hindered in any way from accepting work. It is further required of the applicant that he must have applied to a public employment exchange for a job but had failed to obtain one and also that he should be found to be in need of relief on account of enforced idleness for a period of not less than 6 days prior to his application. (The conditions for unemployment relief cf. below *Unemployment Insurance*, pp. 71 f.)

Pecuniary relief for the assistance of those suffering from enforced

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idleness was granted on a large scale during the years 1914—15 and 1921—23 (the largest total of those in receipt of relief was 64,000 in February 1922). During the succeeding years the granting of pecuniary relief with the aid of State grants practically ceased. It was not until 1931, when the unemployment created by the world economic depression began to assume alarming proportions in this country, that this form of relief was resumed, and during the years 1932—34 it was conducted on a large scale (78,000 recipients of relief, of which number 58,000 were in receipt of State grants, in March 1933). Since then it has been possible largely to reduce the volume of such State-aided relief and at times it has even been entirely suspended.

The form of unemployment relief, however, that has been most extensively practised is that of putting the unemployed on specially organized works, the so-called reserve works, formerly known as State relief works. Reserve works are organized either by the Unemployment Commission, with or without grants from a commune or an association (State reserve works), or by a communal authority with a State grant through the Commission (mixed State and communal reserve works), but can also be run by a commune without State grant (communal reserve works). Works of this class had already been inaugurated by the Unemployment Commission in 1916, but by 1922 they had so expanded that no less than 32,000 persons were thus employed. Since then the number of workers employed on State reserve works has varied up to 1930 between 2,000 and 5,000, dependent upon changes in industrial conditions and seasonal fluctuations on the labour market. Mixed State and communal reserve works were carried on during this period on only a comparatively small scale. During 1932 and 1933 the number of reserve workers increased considerably and during 1934 it exceeded 48,000, of whom 27,000 were employed on State and 17,000 on mixed State and communal reserve works.

The wages paid on the reserve works (as a rule on a piecework basis) have since the 1st July 1933 been adjusted to the rates paid on the open market to unskilled labourers in the locality, but also with reference to the wage conditions in agriculture and forestry. Any supporter of a family who is sent to some place where the wages paid on reserve works are lower than those prevailing in his home locality receives the difference between those two rates as a family allowance (called local allowance). In addition, under certain

circumstances a supplementary local allowance is payable to such supporter of a family with wife and children. Reserve workers who are not able to live at home are lodged gratuitously at the place where they are employed, but they have to find their own board, this being done in a good many cases by forming co-operative messes. In cases where a reserve worker is offered suitable employment in the open labour market he is bound to give up doing relief work, but his travelling expenses to his new place of work are paid.

The State reserve works have resulted (up to the end of 1935) in the construction or reconstruction of about 4,700 km (2,820 miles) of public highways; forestry work has covered some 35,000 hectares, while 9 aerodromes and 82 sports grounds have been laid out. To this list may be added roads and tramways in Crown parks, railways and bridges, also rafting channels, water-regulating works and the clearing of ground for agricultural purposes, canals, inland waterways, harbours, drinking-water supply and drainage systems.

Mention has been made above of the mixed State and communal reserve works. By this is meant that a commune carries out on its own account, with the approval of the Unemployment Commission, reserve work which is subsidized by the State, whilst applying the wage-scale for reserve works prevailing in the district. For this purpose the commune receives a State grant, which is calculated at a sum per working day representing a given percentage of the actual wage costs, though not exceeding the wage fixed for reserve works. This percentage has so far amounted to a minimum of 30 and a maximum of 95 %. The State may also pay a grant for costs of material, transport and supervision of the work, though at a considerably lower percentage than the grant for wages.

While in State reserve works preference is given to unmarried unemployed, those engaged on mixed State and communal works have been recruited chiefly from supporters of families who, since these works are localized within the district of the commune concerned, have been able to live at home during the period of their employment.

For an applicant for relief to be put on to State or mixed State and communal works he must have the same qualifications as are laid down for those in receipt of pecuniary relief, except that the applicant's age must not be below 18. In order to take advantage of such possibilities as might present themselves in general trade and industry, as well as to maintain the mobility of labour, the reserve

works are restricted or expanded according to fluctuations in economic conditions or seasonal changes. At times when there is plenty of work in certain trades or there are good chances of seasonal earnings, these trades are generally debarred from State unemployment relief. In the event of a labour dispute arising, those directly involved in the dispute are disqualified as well as those who would otherwise have been out of work during the dispute and whose wages and conditions of employment may be assumed to be affected by it.

As a supplementary form of relief work, training courses for the unemployed may be organized. Courses of this kind proved particularly useful during the recent depression in combating juvenile unemployment. Unemployed youths who are recommended to go through a training course are able, provided their local communal authorities make application therefor, to obtain relief (in money or in kind) plus a grant out of the Treasury in accordance with the regulations in force.

The Riksdag sessions of 1933 and 1934 passed important Bills concerning the system of State and State-aided unemployment relief. As from the 1st July 1933 the wage system applied to the reserve works was based directly on the open-market wage rates, more liberal principles were adopted for the distribution of State grants for mixed reserve works, the range of types of relief schemes was widened, the rules governing the granting of relief in the event of disputes were made less rigorous, and two new forms of relief were devised for unemployed youths, viz. voluntary labour service and (as from the 1st July 1934) juvenile reserve works.

Voluntary labour service, the participants in which are called *labour apprentices* and are generally accommodated in labour camps, comprises a combination of work and training in the approximate proportion of 2:1. The apprentices receive free board and lodging and a small daily allowance (50 öre), and in certain cases "diligence money", not exceeding 50 öre per working day. As its name implies, this form of relief is voluntary, and consequently the right to relief is not prejudiced by refusal to join a labour camp.

Juvenile reserve works are likewise a combination of work and training, but here the chief stress is laid on practical work serving some immediately useful purpose. It is paid for on the local wage basis applied to reserve works and is performed, if possible, at piecework rates and, as far as practicable, on the terms prevailing

in the open labour market. In this case too the participants (reserve workers) are lodged in labour camps, but they themselves pay a reasonable amount for board and lodging out of their own earnings. Refusal to accept juvenile reserve work involves disqualification from unemployment relief.

The State or State-aided measures enumerated above for the alleviation of unemployment have not imposed any restriction on the right of any commune to carry on relief work out of its own financial resources in the form of communal relief works or on its right to distribute pecuniary relief in accordance with the Poor Law (without any State grant).

In all unemployment measures carried out by the State or the communes the public employment exchange occupies a central position as an organ of control and for indicating suitable jobs to those affected by the relief. Where those in receipt of relief or those already engaged on reserve work refuse to accept employment that may be offered them at reasonable wages through a labour exchange, they are debarred from relief for a period of varying duration. In every commune where any form of publicly organized unemployment relief is carried on, there must therefore exist some organ to act as a public labour exchange (cf. below).

The total cost of the measures undertaken by the State through the State Unemployment Commission to combat unemployment amounted during the years 1914—1935 to about 465 million kronor, about 90 million of which comprised State subsidies to communal relief works, and the balance was expended principally on other public works of different kinds. The above sums include such contributions towards the carrying out of State reserve works as were made by, among other authorities, the Crown Land Commissioners and the Waterfalls Board, local road boards, provincial councils and communes, but not the expenses borne by the communes in connection with their own relief measures or with those undertaken conjointly with the State, which expenditure amounted during the period in question to about 300 mill. kronor.

Public Works for the Alleviation of Unemployment. The year 1933 may be said to mark the boundary-line between an earlier and a more recent phase in Sweden's unemployment policy. The chief feature of the earlier phase was that the State relief work in aid of the unemployed was practically speaking concentrated in the

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State Unemployment Commission. During the more recent phase, on the other hand, apart from such relief work, public works organized on the terms and in the forms applied on the open market assume an important and, at times, a dominant position.

The idea of incorporating public works (in the sense just indicated) amongst the means for combating unemployment has developed only by degrees. Attempts to realize it were made in 1931 and 1932, the Riksdag in those years granting a total of 6 mill. kr. for "advanced" public works in aid of the unemployed, to be utilized for carrying out work which in any case would have to be done sooner or later out of public funds and through the Government. The works were to be carried out on exactly the same basis as other works in the open market. The Riksdag emphasized, however, that these advanced public works were to be regarded as an experimental measure and expressed a doubt as to the expediency of organizing such works side by side with the reserve works conducted by the Unemployment Commission.

The Social Democratic Government that came into power after the elections to the Second Chamber of the Riksdag in the autumn of 1932 set about revising the unemployment policy hitherto adopted. It is true that the Government Bill submitted to the Riksdag of 1933, which entailed in principle the abolition of the system of reserve works and the substitution of public works in the open market, failed to win the approval of the Riksdag without amendment, but the Riksdag's decision nevertheless implied substantial changes in conformity with the principles set forth in the Bill.

According to the system of unemployment relief applied after the 1st July 1933, the main importance is attached to *public works* in the open market in different parts of the country and within different trades. The reserve works system has however been retained side by side with the public works system, although the regulations governing the former have been materially altered (cf. above). Pecuniary relief activities and certain special measures in conjunction therewith (cf. above) still exist as supplementary to the general relief policy.

Public works serve the double purpose of stimulating production and providing employment for the workless. This does not mean, however, that every works programme shall have that twofold function, but suitable works can be sought for within a far wider radius

than would be feasible if the sole aim in view were the direct effect on employment. Moreover, public works to a large extent open up possibilities, outside the scope of unemployment policy, of serving valuable social and other purposes of a similar nature, e. g. the improvement of housing, the development of workmen's small holdings, the clearing of ground for agricultural purposes and forestry.

During the period 1st July 1933—30th June 1936 considerable sums were appropriated for combating unemployment. The total grants made by the Riksdag during that period amounted to about 450 mill. kr. (over and above those made to approved unemployment funds), of which 240 mill. kr. were allotted to public works and 210 mill. kr. to the relief works carried on by the Unemployment Commission. The grants allotted to public works represent a number of purposes. For instance, funds have been appropriated to pay for Government orders placed with industrial undertakings of various kinds, for furthering the building of houses, for promoting private enterprise, for abolishing level crossings, for bridge, harbour and road construction, for afforestation and agricultural expansion, etc. Since the 1st July 1935 much importance has been attached to the social aspect of the housing problem apart from the point of view of unemployment. Further, the promotion of workmen's small holdings is gradually forming a conspicuous item in unemployment relief. The object is to provide the forest workers of Norrland in particular with auxiliary agricultural facilities, though the work is not confined to that region only, but may be utilized for the benefit of any part of the country where it is considered expedient to enable workers dependent on small seasonal earnings to carry on agriculture on a small scale. As the unemployment situation has gradually improved, the Government's unemployment policy has been brought to bear more especially — just as under similar circumstances in the past — on those parts of the country in which unemployment has persisted. This is illustrated, *inter alia*, by the Riksdag's having made funds available for Government purchases of paving stones, the object being to aid the quarrying industry in districts in which unemployment has proved to be especially persistent.

For financing the grants made for public works recourse was at first had to short-term borrowing. According to the original calculations it was estimated that the amortization period would last up to

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about 1940, but circumstances have rendered it possible already to pay off the loans taken up for the purpose.

The grants made by the Riksdag for public works schemes, concerning the number and scope of which it is possible with the aid of available statistics to give more or less reliable data, amount in round figures to 185 mill. kr. Of this sum the Government had by the 1st January 1936 disposed of about 150 mill. kr. The schemes to which the State has contributed represented, however, a total expenditure of 300 mill. kr., so that in turnover the State contributions have produced an effect corresponding to twice the amount of grants. The number of undertakings was about 82,000, whereof 55,000 were completed, 17,000 were in course of execution and 10,000 were decided upon but not yet put into operation.

In order to throw some light on the employment given by the public works covered by these figures it may be mentioned that during the period 1/7 1933—31/12 1936 the total number of days worked amounted to about 17 million. The maximum volume of employment was reached in October 1935, when 42,500 persons were at work.

The average earnings on public works are obviously higher than the incomes earned on reserve works. While the average earnings on the latter varied between 4 and 6 kronor, those on the former remained on a level of about 9 kronor.

During 1936 and that part of the current year (1937) that has already passed, the volume of unemployment has been relatively small; rather, there has been a scarcity of certain kinds of skilled labour. In consequence it has been possible considerably to restrict relief measures, which are now only required for the most part in some of the larger towns and a number of industrial districts in the provinces, where owing to special circumstances unemployment has shown a tendency to persist (cf. above).

Unemployment Insurance. After many years of investigation the Riksdag of 1934 passed a law providing for State-subsidized unemployment insurance. The principal provisions regarding the insurance scheme are embodied in the Order of the 15th June 1934 relating to approved unemployment funds and the Order of the same date relating to State contributions to approved unemployment funds.

A form of unemployment insurance had existed in Sweden earlier, but the costs were defrayed entirely by the workers themselves. A

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number of trade unions with an aggregate membership of over 300,000 workers had established unemployment funds, which granted pecuniary relief to their members.

The existing unemployment insurance scheme is on a voluntary basis and involves State contributions to unemployment funds established by the workers, these funds being founded in conformity with certain rules prescribed by law and their activities being governed by specific regulations. Seeing that they are associations in the legal sense, it is laid down that these funds must be registered as benefit societies. Moreover, in order to qualify for State grants the funds must be accepted by the Social Board as approved unemployment funds.

So far all the approved unemployment funds have been formed as national societies on an occupational basis. When the legislation on the subject was being drafted it was assumed that the trade organizations' funds would be converted into approved unemployment funds. In many cases the trade union has laid down in its rules in connection with the founding of the fund that all the members of the union must belong to the approved fund. In principle, however, the funds are to be quite independent of the trade organizations. Approved unemployment funds are in principle to be open to all workers within the fund's sphere of activities. It is therefore not permitted to state in the rules of the fund that as a condition of membership its members must belong to a specified trade organization.

The Order contains certain provisions preventing membership in an approved fund. Those thus prohibited by law from belonging to an approved fund are in the first place, with a certain limitation as to time, independent entrepreneurs, on the ground that the insurance scheme has been deemed to be applicable only to those actually working for a wage, though no restriction is imposed on the nature of the work or the size of the income. Further, the law debars from membership those who are in the employ of certain close relatives. It is obvious that no one may be a member of more than one approved unemployment fund at the same time.

In addition to the grounds of exclusion just mentioned the Order contains certain provisions governing the right of the funds, after due inquiry in each individual case, to refuse the right to membership. In the first place these regulations permit an approved fund to debar any person who does not work for at least three months out

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of the year or, if out of work, does not seek employment within the fund's sphere of activities.

Any person who before the end of the eighth week after the period covered by the prescribed contribution has failed to pay such contribution or to report the existence of circumstances justifying exemption from paying the contribution due, is regarded as having resigned his membership of the society.

One quite large group of workers has actually, if not formally, been debarred from the benefit of unemployment insurance, namely, home workers. The sole reason for this is the difficulty as far as these workers are concerned of organizing effective control over the circumstances of their unemployment.

In order to be entitled to benefit, a member must be over 16 years of age, capable of work and otherwise not prevented from accepting employment; he must have reported himself to a public labour exchange as in search of work and must fulfil the prescribed conditions as regards payment of contributions. These requirements imply, briefly, that benefit may only be granted to a member who is capable of work, who is unemployed through no fault of his own and who has made certain payments to the society in the form of contributions.

The duty of checking that the member is really unemployed has been entrusted to the public labour exchanges. Moreover, by repeated personal applications to a labour exchange for work, the insured worker keeps in touch with the labour market and the chances of obtaining employment.

In addition, a member must give evidence of the fact that he is unemployed through no fault of his own by producing before the fund references from his last employer giving the reason for his having lost his job. Any person who voluntarily and without any valid reason leaves his job is debarred for a period of four weeks from claiming benefit. A similar disqualification is imposed on anyone who refuses to accept work offered to him and which is deemed suitable according to the regulations. It is the duty of the labour exchange to submit to the fund and to the Social Board a report on any such refusal to work.

For the job offered to be deemed suitable it must in the first place correspond to the worker's physical powers and capacity. This rule is however not to be interpreted as justifying insured persons in

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refusing to accept work offered them because it lies outside the scope of their proper trade. Further, in order to be deemed suitable a job must be paid for at a wage that may be considered a fair one in comparison with that paid for similar work in the locality. Within those areas of the labour market in which collective agreements are generally in force, no wage other than the collective agreement wage may be deemed to be reasonable. In other cases careful inquiries must be made to ensure that the wage offered is reasonable compared with what is paid for such work in the district in question. An insured worker is entitled without risk of being debarred from benefit to refuse to accept employment at a place of work where a strike or lockout is going on. An exception to this rule is made in the case of such disputes as have been duly declared illegal.

As regards the relation between unemployment insurance and the system of reserve works (see above), it is laid down that, from the insurance point of view, reserve work is to be regarded as on a par with work in the open market. That is to say, in relation to his unemployment fund a reserve worker is not regarded as unemployed, but during the period in which he is engaged on reserve work he must pay contributions to the society in the ordinary course. It should be observed that no-one may be put on to doing reserve work unless he has reported himself to the proper unemployment committee as applying for relief.

Benefit may not be granted to a member who is directly involved in a labour dispute. Nor may it be granted to anyone who has otherwise been out of work owing to the dispute and whose wages and conditions of employment can be presumed to be affected thereby. On the other hand, anyone who was already out of work when the dispute arose retains his right to claim benefit even if he belongs to the trade involved in the dispute.

It may here be noted that the rules as to what is to be understood by a suitable job offered and as to the position in regard to labour disputes are in conformity with the provisions governing relief activities in aid of the unemployed conducted under the supervision of the Unemployment Commission (cf. above).

The condition as to contributions means that no member is entitled to benefit unless he has paid the fund at least 52 weekly contributions, of which at least 26 must have been paid during the 12 months immediately preceding the date on which he lost his job, it being

observed that a contribution may not be placed to his credit for any other week than that during which a member has performed a paid job on behalf of an employer or has been on holiday. The payment of contributions need not be inquired into again in cases in which a period of benefit has been interrupted by a short spell of employment lasting not more than 18 days. Further, it is laid down that when calculating the paid-up contributions the fund may deduct from the 12 months during which the prescribed number of contributions are to be paid, *inter alia*, the time during which a member has been doing his military service or has been sick, provided he can produce evidence to that effect in accordance with specific regulations. For an insured worker in a seasonal trade the prescribed number of contributions may under certain circumstances be reduced from 26 to, at the lowest, 20.

In order to facilitate the conversion of a trade union unemployment fund into an approved fund, the Order prescribes that the supervising authority may grant the insured the right, for the purposes of benefit, to be credited with any contributions that may have been paid by him to another unemployment fund.

Further, an approved unemployment fund may come to an agreement with another similar fund either at home or abroad to credit a member who has been transferred from the one fund to the other, for purposes of relief, with premiums already paid to the former society. To be valid, such an agreement requires ratification in the ordinary course.

The daily allowance payable by an approved unemployment fund is to be fixed at an amount not exceeding six, and as a rule not less than two, kronor. The funds may themselves determine the size of the daily allowance within those limits, except that the amount may never exceed for the supporter of a family four-fifths and for any other member three-fifths of the ordinary local wage paid to workers engaged in the same trade and possessing a capacity for work equal to that of the unemployed person. The funds may introduce different classes of benefit.

The fact that an insured member on his own or his family's behalf applies to the poor law authorities for assistance does not prejudice his right to claim benefit from the fund.

Daily benefit may not be granted to any member until after a certain waiting period, which may not be fixed at a shorter term

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than six days. A member need not complete a fresh waiting period if the benefit period is interrupted on account of, *inter alia*, a job lasting not more than 18 days, or illness, childbed, or military service, provided that, on the termination of such job or when such other hindrance no longer exists, the member immediately applies for daily benefit.

In the case of funds possessing members engaged in seasonal trades, the supervising authority has been empowered to prescribe a longer waiting period than would otherwise be required, though not exceeding 3 months, or to prohibit the payment of relief during a certain portion of the year or order the division of the longest benefit period in any 12 consecutive months into two periods, the one to comprise the time during which the worker concerned is regularly unemployed. In seasonal trades, therefore, benefit is payable as a rule only during that part of the year when the members are generally subject to seasonal unemployment.

The maximum period during which benefit is payable has been fixed at 156 days in the course of 12 consecutive months. A fund may fix a shorter benefit period, but not less than 90 days.

An approved unemployment fund shall claim fixed contributions from its members. These contributions are payable to cover a period during which a member is working in another's employ for a wage on a job that is not performed in the member's home, and they shall be so calculated as to suffice, together with other forms of income, for the establishment of the prescribed reserves, for the payment of insured benefits and for the fund's other items of expenditure.

A fund shall set aside as a reserve assets to a certain amount as prescribed in the Order, according to the fund's membership and income. The reserve, to which any surplus from the fund's activities must always be placed, may only be utilized to the extent that the income proves inadequate for covering current expenditure. A fund may not start paying out benefit until the supervising authority has sanctioned its doing so in consideration of the size of the reserve.

The State's engagements vis-à-vis the approved unemployment funds have been carefully restricted; State grants may not exceed a certain number of benefit days per member per annum. Consequently, in the event of a serious state of unemployment a fund must itself be responsible for any excess burden of relief. To begin

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with, recourse must naturally be had to the reserve for covering the increased expenditure; after that is exhausted, the fund must choose between the alternatives of levying extra charges on its members or else of restricting the scope of its activities. One method of doing so is to reduce the amount of the daily allowance and another is to shorten the length of the benefit period. The minimum limits laid down in the Order may in such a case be lowered.

The Social Board has been appointed the supervising authority for the approved unemployment funds. This function involves the registration and acceptance of approved unemployment funds, supervising and controlling the activities of the funds and also, when required, giving instructions for the making of any necessary adjustments. Further, it is the duty of the supervising authority to give the funds advice and information regarding their work. It also rests with the supervising authority, upon the recommendation of a fund, to appoint a member of the board of the fund, and the supervising authority shall likewise appoint an auditor for the fund.

The chief characteristic feature of the Swedish form of unemployment insurance is the nature of the State grant.

To enable badly-off groups of workers to found an approved unemployment fund, the State contribution has been made relatively larger in the case of funds whose members earn lower wages and at the same time are subject to a large average volume of unemployment. On the other hand, a proportionately smaller State grant is paid to funds whose members have high wages and low unemployment figures. For this purpose the State grant has not been directly calculated on the basis of the amount of wages, but the rate of daily allowance fixed by the fund has been taken to indicate the wage level. The State grant is calculated according to the amount disbursed by the societies in the form of benefit.

The State grant is paid out partly as an administration grant, partly as a daily-benefit grant. The administration grant is paid per calendar year and represents a certain amount for each annual member of the fund. The grant varies according to the membership of the societies, so that the small funds receive higher grants. On an average the grant generally amounts to three kronor per annual member. The rules governing the daily-benefit grant provide that the funds shall themselves finance a number of benefit days per member

per annum corresponding to the average amount of daily benefit in kronor reduced by one-half. If the number of benefit days per member exceeds this fixed limit, the daily-benefit grant shall begin to be paid in amounts that at first shall represent only a relatively small proportion of the total expenditure but gradually increasing until they are equivalent to 21 benefit days per member per annum. Upon arriving at this limit the daily benefit comes up to 75 % of the entire expenditure incurred by the fund or class paying a daily allowance of two kronor and to 40 % of the entire expenditure incurred by a fund or class paying a daily allowance of six kronor. The percentage fixed for the grant that is given per 21 benefit days remains unaltered up to 26 benefit days per member per annum.

If the volume of unemployment increases to such an extent that the number of benefit days per member per annum exceeds 26, no State grant is payable in respect of the surplus days. Instead it is incumbent upon the funds to finance the extra unemployment relief or else to reduce the scope of their activities.

Obviously it must take a considerable time to establish approved unemployment funds for the majority of workers. The chief reason for this is that generally the question has first to be dealt with at the congresses of the trade organizations. At the turn of the year 1936/37 there were ten approved unemployment funds with a membership in round figures of 100,000, in addition to which definite decisions had been taken to found two more funds, which will comprise about 40,000 members. Several large trade unions have placed on their agenda the question of establishing an approved unemployment fund.

Employment Exchanges. The need for special arrangements for dealing with the placing of labour in employment has long been apparent, and certain efforts at organizing such a scheme were made at a quite early period. In former times the work of meeting the different handicrafts' requirements in the labour market was carried out by the guilds, and from ancient times the hiring of agricultural labourers took place as a rule at the fairs. No particular attention was paid to the question of employment exchanges until the latter part of the 19th century, when in conjunction with the industrialization of production and the introduction of freedom in the choice of occupation the constraint of labour contracts was relaxed and the mobility of labour greatly increased. The tendency of migration from

agriculture to industry, from rural to urban areas, gained headway, emigration flourished and the seasonal migration that was a phenomenon of former times became more widespread. This increased mobility on the labour market proceeded at times in a somewhat unsystematic way. The organization for the placing of labour in particular was very defective. The employment agency work that had been carried on by special guild organizations disappeared with the disbanding of the guilds. At quite an early stage private employment agencies had come into being and it was not until now that these began to develop to any extent. They gradually entailed, however, certain abuses of various kinds, and in consequence these agencies were placed by a Royal Order of 1844 under State control (see below).

Towards the close of the century, however, the work of the private employment agencies proved to be altogether insufficient for performing the growing functions required in a labour-placing organization, so that the idea arose of establishing *public employment exchanges* on more rational lines with a view to putting employers and those seeking employment into touch with one another. The question was considered by the Riksdag sessions of 1900 and 1901, but no result was arrived at, and about the same time certain of the urban communes also took the matter up. Thus it was that in 1902 public labour exchanges were established on communal initiative at Helsingborg and Gothenburg, and in the next few years they were followed by others in a number of towns. As these exchanges were found to perform a valuable function, the Government decided in 1906 that funds should be made available for the promotion and organization of public employment (labour) exchanges. The grants were to be utilized for the support of labour exchanges established by provincial councils, agricultural societies and communes, whether independently or in collaboration. Certain general principles for State grants for this purpose were included in the first Ordinance of 1907 relating to contributions out of public funds for the establishment of public labour exchanges in the Kingdom, and these principles still essentially hold good (see below). The work is under the supervision and direction of the State, exercised since 1913 through the Social Board.

With the assistance of the State grants available since 1906, public employment exchanges were established during the years up to 1915 in all provincial council areas, while a number of the communes set

up their own exchanges. Even in those cases in which a provincial council was responsible for the public labour exchange, many of the communes in which sub-exchanges were opened have contributed towards the cost.

On the outbreak of the World War the public labour exchanges were given additional duties, the institution becoming the directing and controlling organ for the relief of unemployment arising out of the extraordinary conditions created on the labour market. Thus it was stipulated as a condition for the receipt of State-aided unemployment relief that the applicant should have applied in vain to an office of the public labour exchange for work. If there was no labour exchange in a locality where relief work was being carried out, a temporary labour exchange representative was to be appointed. The exchange's duty as a controlling organ in respect of unemployed persons seeking assistance has been maintained ever since (cf. above). As a result of this, the network of labour exchanges during periods of serious unemployment has been reinforced by temporary labour exchange offices (representatives), at times numbering up to about a thousand.

Ever since 1906 the public labour exchanges have had all their expenses for postage, telephone and the printing of forms defrayed out of public funds. Further, the exchanges after investigation in each individual case have been able to obtain grants for covering the expenses of the special arrangements made by the exchanges for the requirements of rural areas, and also for effecting collaboration between different exchanges. As from 1915 State grants have been made to cover the cost of finding employment for conscripts and serving members of the army and navy after completion of their term of service. To support the expansion and specialization of the labour exchanges, the 1916 Riksdag agreed that State grants should be made, after investigation in each case, to defray the cost of salaries of such staffs as were specially engaged for dealing with placing in certain specialized trades. This extension of the facilities provided by State grants rendered specialization possible in various branches of labour exchange activity.

The branch of labour exchange work to which the State first found it necessary to direct special attention was the placing of workers in employment in agriculture. In view of the importance of agriculture in the national economy and the steady migration of labour from rural

to urban areas as a result of the industrial expansion, the State has made extra grants to those exchanges which devote special attention to the question of supplying agriculture with labour. Out of the total number of situations found by labour exchanges one-fifth has been represented by engagements for agriculture.

The most important form of specialization in labour exchange work came into being when an organization for the placing of seamen was created. Since the ratification in 1922 of the Convention adopted at the Second International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1920 for establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen, any such activity carried on for profit is prohibited and there have been established free seamen's employment agencies, under the supervision of the labour exchanges. Such employment agencies are established at present in 29 coastal districts.

For other trades, too, special arrangements have been made by labour exchanges, which have established skilled trade sections and taken other special measures.

A further specialization of labour exchanges was made possible by the decision of the Riksdag in 1928 that State grants should be made for special arrangements for facilitating the choice of trade and for securing employment for juvenile workers. To begin with, the amount of the grant to labour exchanges for this purpose was strictly limited, but this restriction was abolished in 1931. The question has been considered to be one of common interest both to the schools and to the labour exchanges, and therefore co-operation between these two institutions has been planned and has been put into operation in several localities. According to this scheme, local co-operating delegations containing representatives of schools, labour exchanges and industry should be given the function of supervising juvenile labour exchanges to be established as special departments of the labour exchange offices in the localities where special measures for school boys and girls and other minors are called for by circumstances.

The system of labour exchanges thus created was based up to the close of 1934 on the initiative of the provincial councils and the communes themselves. In conjunction with the putting into operation of the State-aided unemployment insurance scheme there was passed in that year the *Public Labour Exchanges Act* (Swedish Book of Statutes No. 267/1934), coming into force on 1st January 1935, by

which the labour exchange became a compulsory institution which each provincial council and each town not forming part of a provincial council was expressly required to maintain. At the same time a considerable increase in the amount of the State grant to labour exchanges was decided upon.

The State will thus — in addition to paying certain specified costs as formerly — cover one-half of the remaining expenditure incurred by labour exchanges. The Government has moreover the right to agree to more than half the expenditure of a labour exchange being covered out of public funds in certain cases. Such increased State grant may likewise be made, after Government investigation, to cover the labour exchange expenditure within a certain branch of activity or for certain categories of applicants for employment, also for collaboration between labour exchanges, as well as for special arrangements for facilitating a choice of trade and the finding of employment for young people.

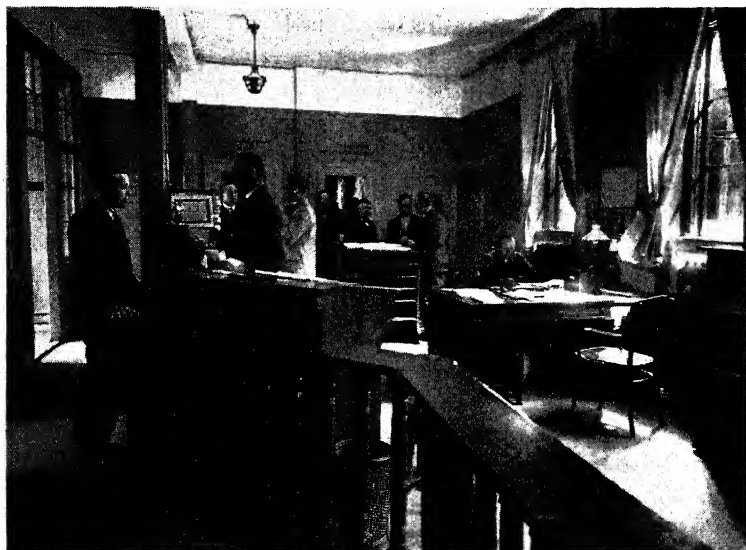
In other respects the main principles of public placing work are to a large extent unaffected by the new Act. It confirms the Social Board in its duty as supervising authority to exercise the State management and control of public labour exchanges. The labour exchange boards shall be formed on a joint basis, i. e. shall consist of an equal number of representatives of employers and workers, and under the chairmanship of a person who, appointed by the provincial governor in consultation with the Social Board, shall be impartial to the interests both of employers and employed. The labour exchanges shall deal with labour of all descriptions, shall give their services free of charge and shall carry on their work irrespective of disputes between employers and labour. The Act also gives expression to the basic principle of placing work, that care shall be taken that the employer obtains the best labour available and the worker gets the work for which he is best suited.

In accordance with regulations at present in force regarding State unemployment relief and State-aided unemployment relief, the public labour exchanges still have the duty of assisting at control of public relief (cf. above). The same function is laid on public labour exchanges in regard to State-aided voluntary unemployment insurance by a corresponding provision in the Order respecting approved unemployment benefit societies (cf. above).

Co-operation between public labour exchanges is now regulated by

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a special Decree of the 23rd November 1934. The labour exchanges of each province under the control of the provincial head office constitute the natural unit for local co-operation between labour exchanges in various parts of the country. To ensure closer co-operation between labour exchanges in areas larger than those covered by the different



One of Sweden's Public Labour Exchange Offices (Malmö).

provincial exchanges, neighbouring provinces with similar labour conditions are linked up to form eight labour exchange districts. A further auxiliary means for co-operation between the exchanges is provided by a special list of vacancies published in the different districts each week, based on particulars from the provincial labour exchanges of the district and their branch exchanges respecting vacant situations and also of more highly qualified and specially trained applicants for work in respect of each of the exchange offices and representatives. These district lists mainly fulfil a local purpose, constituting in the first place a means of notifying vacancies within the respective districts. To meet the need for the inter-local notification of vacancies, a special national list of vacancies is published

weekly by the Social Board and gives particulars of vacancies for which suitable applicants have not presented themselves in the labour exchange districts concerned. To increase the rapidity and effectiveness of inter-local co-operation the Social Board has made an arrangement with the National Broadcasting Corporation to broadcast each week the chief contents of the national list of vacancies. The State facilitates the transfer of labour between different localities by paying the travelling expenses of necessitous applicants for work (cf. above).

The ever-widening scope and the augmented functions of public labour exchanges have led to a corresponding increase in the numbers of vacancies filled. While the total in 1913 amounted to 117,900, the corresponding figure for 1935 was 317,000. Out of the number of situations filled — 205,000 of which were for men and 112,000 for women — 48,400 consisted of jobs in agriculture, 6,600 in forestry, 30,300 in industry and handicrafts, 20,300 in shipping and fishing, 47,100 in commerce, communications and public service, 74,400 for domestic service and 38,900 for miscellaneous jobs.

On the basis of monthly reports submitted by the labour exchanges, the Social Board publishes in its journal "Sociala Meddelanden" (Social Information) a statistical survey of the extent of the work carried out during the month at the different exchanges and a report on the labour market. At the close of each year the same journal issues a survey of the work of labour exchanges during the year. On the basis of the work of the labour exchanges the Social Board has printed and issued a handbook on public placing activities.

In May 1936 there were 29 labour exchange institutions, each with a head office. Acting under their supervision were 126 branch exchanges, 21 independent seamen's exchanges, 320 permanent labour exchange representatives and 485 temporary representatives, the last-named acting mostly as local agents for public labour exchanges at those places where State and State-aided unemployment relief work had been organized, but where there were no regular labour exchange facilities.

Private employment agencies are now regulated by the Act of 18th April 1935, in force since the beginning of 1936, containing certain labour exchange regulations. Formerly what were known as the Commission Agent Decrees of 1884 and 1916 applied to this sphere, by which the granting of permits to carry on such activities

devolved upon the provincial councils. As a result of the continuous expansion of public labour exchanges the number of permits has considerably decreased in recent years, and since the coming into force of the 1935 Act no new permit may be granted in cases where an employment office is intended to be carried on for profit. Nevertheless those who, at the time when the Act came into force, were carrying on such business in a proper manner may, after obtaining authority from the Social Board, continue to do so until the close of 1939. Moreover, the Social Board is entitled in certain circumstances to grant an extension of old permits, but not for more than a year at a time and not after the 1st January 1950. When granting a permit it rests with the Social Board to decide as to what an employment agency may reasonably charge for its placing services.

While employment agencies carried on for profit are thus to be abolished after a certain transitional period, trade organizations and other associations whose activities are not to be regarded as being conducted for profit are allowed by the 1935 Act to continue to obtain permits to engage in placing work, charging fees fixed by the Social Board. All placing institutions (including certain trade organizations, educational establishments or philanthropic societies) are subject to inspection by the Social Board and under obligation to furnish the Board with necessary details relating to their business.

A special position among private employment agencies is held by *the approved hospital nurses' bureaux*, which according to special statutory provisions (Royal Decree of the 28th June 1935) are subject to the inspection of the Medical and Health Board and find work for hospital nurses, charging fees fixed by the Board.

Emigration and Immigration. The attitude of the Swedish State towards emigration, as it finds expression in the Emigration Decree of 1884, is based on the liberal principle of the absolute freedom of the emigrant to emigrate, but on his own responsibility. The State as such only undertakes to afford the emigrant certain protection before and during the journey itself, and to set up certain minimum requirements concerning comfort and hygiene during the journey. As regards disloyal or prejudicial emigration, there are special regulations intended to prevent the emigration of persons who are liable for the support of children (Act of 1917), and of men liable for military service; although exceedingly liberal exemption is granted to the lat-

ter on application. While then, as regards legislative measures, the State has adopted a neutral attitude towards emigration, the question has still been the subject of serious consideration with a view to finding measures to counteract it — as is quite natural in a country from which during certain years in the eighteen-eighties one out of every hundred inhabitants emigrated. During the years 1907—1913 the causes of emigration were the subject of an exhaustive enquiry by Professor Gustav Sundbärg, with the assistance of several experts. The result of this investigation indicated that the question of measures to prevent emigration was bound up with the question of exploiting the natural resources of the home country. There appeared therefore to be a certain connection between emigration and the measures taken by the State to offer increased possibilities of subsistence within the country. From this conviction there grew up a wide-spread State-aided smallholdings ("Own Homes") movement and a private association, "The National Society for the Prevention of Emigration", worked for the same object, although with the direct and clearly avowed purpose of endeavouring to keep at home intending emigrants.

Under the influence of a vigorously growing industrial life, the emigration figures declined up to the time of the Great War. At the conclusion of the war a new situation arose owing to the quota legislation of the United States, as a result of which the number of Swedish emigrants to that country was limited to 20,042 (law of 1921), and after that to 9,561 (law of 1924) and finally by the quota law of 1929 to 3,314 persons per fiscal year. The importance of the American quota legislation for Swedish emigration will at once be obvious from the fact that previously about 97 % of all the transoceanic emigrants went to the United States. Apart from the United States, Canada is the only country which has been of any considerable importance as an immigration country. Since that country also began in the autumn of 1930 to apply an immigration policy which practically amounted to exclusion, Swedish emigration there has been insignificant.

In consequence of the widespread unemployment in Sweden since the Great War, there has undoubtedly been a substantial need for emigration. Indeed, under the influence of this fact, public opinion on the question of emigration has changed to a certain extent. Since the enforcement of the American quota laws, emigration has no longer been considered a danger to the Swedish race, but rather as a very necessary safety-valve for the Swedish labour market. The attitude

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of the State towards the question of emigration has not hitherto changed from its former liberal point of view. But it may be remarked that the Social Board, which has to deal with emigration questions, made a proposal for a new Emigration Act in 1928, in all essentials conforming to the old emigration regulations, but at the



Third-Class Dining Saloon on one of the Swedish-America Line's Vessels.

same time containing measures for establishing an information service for intending emigrants and certain measures for assisting them. It may also be mentioned that in 1927 an information bureau was set up, on private initiative, for qualified emigrants such as engineers, doctors, foresters, etc. This bureau — *The Institute for Swedish Foreign Service* — has been in receipt of a State subsidy since 1930 in consideration of its activities being extended to comprise an objective and impartial information service for others besides students from the universities and colleges who contemplate emigration.

Each new situation regarding emigration produces its own urgent problems. As at present, practically all countries enforce strict immigration regulations and difficulties are placed in the way of Swedes wishing to take regular employment abroad, the question arose how openings could be ensured for young Swedes — such as were formerly easily obtainable — to practise abroad with a view to improving

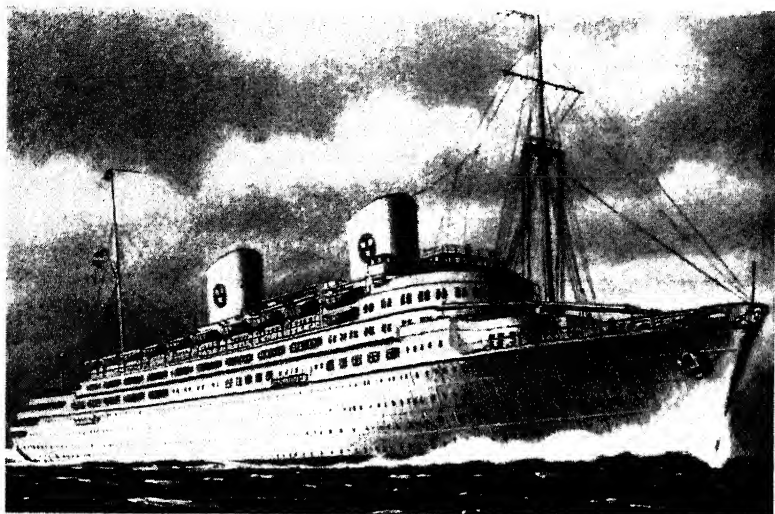
themselves in their trade and learning foreign languages. An agreement was concluded on the 9th June 1934 between Sweden and France designed to provide facilities for not more than 50 citizens of either country annually — no matter what may be the situation of the labour market — to hold, usually for one year, paid posts in an industrial or a commercial undertaking in the other country. On the Swedish side the exchange of such learners is dealt with by the Social Board. A similar exchange of learners has also been arranged with other countries, although the exchange is conducted unofficially, generally through the intermediary of trade organizations, chambers of commerce and other bodies, in collaboration with the immigration authorities of the countries concerned.

Immigration to Sweden before the Great War was on a comparatively small scale and consisted for the most part of returned emigrants. As a tendency to increased immigration was observed after the war, Sweden, like many other countries, mainly out of consideration for the labour market, took steps, in conjunction with the compulsory passports and visas introduced during the war, to exercise a special control over the entry of foreigners into the country; for at that period the Swedish labour market was from time to time subject to severe unemployment. The control of immigration was based, to begin with, on administrative orders, themselves founded on the Aliens Act of 1914. Since the beginning of 1928 the control has been made statutory, through extended legislation dealing with the right of foreigners to remain in Sweden. The new Act lays down that those for whom no visa is required must obtain a special permit if they wish to remain in the country for a period exceeding 3 months (residence permit), and in addition there is required as a condition for the introduction of foreign labour a special permit (labour permit). The question of granting applications for such permits is dealt with by the Social Board. The Act, which was originally to be in force for a period of five years, was prolonged in 1932 for a further period of five years. In 1937 a new Act was promulgated based mainly on the principles contained in the earlier legislation, and also fixed to remain in force for five years.

The aim of the above legislation is to protect the Swedish labour market against mass immigration and against the introduction of foreign labour into trades in which similar native labour is available. It also aims at protecting the country against the entrance of foreigners

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who are not desirable from the standpoint of public order. The application of this legislation during the occasional prevalence of extensive unemployment in Sweden and neighbouring countries has been a matter of peculiar delicacy. Similarly, for reasons connected with unsettled conditions in certain foreign countries the question of immi-



The Swedish-America Line's new Motor-ship.

gration has become one of extreme urgency. Sweden, which has always sought strictly to maintain the universally recognized principles in regard to right of asylum, has thus received a not inconsiderable number of refugees, especially those of Finnish and Russian nationality, and in recent years also from Central Europe.

At the beginning of 1936 there were living in Sweden about 7,000 foreigners holding valid permits, of whom some 5,000 possessed labour permits. To these must be added those foreigners for whom residence and labour permits are not required, that is those who have resided in Sweden since before the year 1927 and were not at that time required to have a visa, as well as foreigners who are still compelled to have a visa or who are provided with a Nansen passport or a Swedish alien's passport.

III. Protection of Workers.

1. Legislation.

General Survey of the Development of the Legislation. The first measures of social legislation in the modern sense of the term were taken in Sweden, as in most other countries, to protect the workers against the risks and accidents directly associated with their work, i. e. legislation within the sphere of workers' protection in the strict sense. The legislator naturally turned his attention first of all to the children, as being the weakest and most in need of protection. True, regulations governing the employment of children were already to be found in various old statutes dealing with industries, e. g., in the Guild Decrees of 1621 and 1720, but not until the middle of the nineteenth century was legislation in this field based on a policy of social protection as the term is understood to-day. Industrialism was slow in establishing itself in Sweden, and not until the year 1881 was the first real protective statute passed dealing with the employment of minors. When this statute was revised in 1900, special regulations were added governing the employment of women, and in 1909 further regulations were introduced forbidding the employment of women on night-work in certain occupations.

General regulations dealing with occupational risks, i. e. for the protection also of adult male workers against accidents or ill health incurred in their work, were issued in an Act of 1889.

The above-mentioned protective regulations governing the employment of minors and women, with the exception, however, of women's night-work, and relating to protection against occupational risks, were later combined for the purpose of greater efficiency (the clauses being revised in certain respects) into the Workers' Protection Act of 29th June 1912, which represents the principal fundamental statute governing the protection of workers in Sweden. By an Act dated the 12th June 1931 the Act was revised on several points; inter alia, it now incorporates the clauses relating to women's night-work, and there have been added to it regulations concerning the nightly and weekly rest and also holidays. Around this Act, and supplementing it

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in certain particular respects, there have subsequently been grouped special decrees, which, on the basis of the Act, have been issued through administrative channels.

In consequence of the two international Conventions prohibiting the use of white (yellow) phosphorus in the manufacture of matches, and of white lead in certain painting work, there have been issued two statutes, in 1920 and 1926, imposing similar prohibitions. Further, on account of the Convention adopted in 1929 relating to the marking of the weight of heavy packages transported by ship, there was promulgated in 1932 an Act providing for the indication of the weight in certain cases of goods to be loaded on to vessels.

As being closely related to the workers' protection Act may here be mentioned also an Act passed in 1919 and revised in 1930, which forbids night-work and work on Sundays in bakeries and at confectioners' shops, and two Acts passed in 1919 and 1937, which aim at providing suitable quarters for people working in lonely parts of the country on lumbering, charcoal-burning or timber-floating, the construction of rafting channels, road-making and draining. The latter of these two Acts has replaced another with a similar purpose.

A still further step in the development of the protection of workers is marked by the laws which, not primarily from a hygienic standpoint, but essentially with a more general social end in view, enforce the limitation of working hours, this to apply not only to minors but to all kinds of workers. The most important of these laws is the Act restricting working hours, which led to the introduction of the 8-hour day, and which, passed for the first time on the 17th October 1919, now exists in a version dated the 16th May 1930. This Act does not deal with agriculture, the hours of labour in that industry not having been regulated until the passing of the Act of the 26th June 1936, the Agricultural Working Hours Act (amended by an Act of 18th June 1937), which is provisional in character and is to be in force, at present, for three years. In this sphere of legislation should perhaps also be included an Act passed in 1919, restricting the working hours in commerce and certain other forms of business, this Act having replaced another with a practically similar purpose passed in 1909.

The regulations dealing with the protection of workers in the mercantile marine are entirely separate from the legislation mentioned above. The fundamental protective regulations for workers on board

ship are laid down in the Maritime Act, and in virtue of the authority vested in this Act there has been issued a number of supplementary administrative protective measures. An Act passed in 1919 regulated the working hours on board Swedish ships, and a provisional Act passed on the 13th July, 1926, with that end in view is still in force at the present time in accordance with an Act of the 12th October, 1934. The State authorities have devoted special attention in recent years to the working and living conditions of seamen. Thus in 1922 there was issued a Seamen's Act, the main object of which is the regulation of seamen's articles of agreement.

The development of the Swedish laws for the protection of workers having thus been indicated in its main features, we shall give below a short summary of the essential points of these laws in some of their more important aspects.

The Employment of Minors. Minors, i. e. persons under 18 years of age, are not allowed to be employed by outside employers in any kind of work, with the exception of agriculture and domestic service, before the minors have reached the age of 13, and this minimum age is, in the case of industry proper, raised to the age of 14. A further condition governing the employment of minors is that the minors should as a rule have finished their studies in the elementary school.

Moreover, to be accepted for employment at working places of some size (where at least 10 workers are engaged) in industry, the building trade or in the transport service, the minor should be found upon medical examination not to show any signs of ill-health, debility or impaired physique, or, should that be the case, there must be no likelihood of his suffering from the employment in question. He should thereafter undergo medical examination once a year.

As a general rule, the law provides, in regard to the employment of minors, that they must not be employed in such work as could be considered dangerous or likely to overtax their strength, to be either harmful to their physical development or objectionable from a moral point of view. Should the employment of minors in any particular kind of occupation be found to involve a risk of any such abuse, the Government may lay down conditions or prohibit altogether the employment of minors for that work. As regards special working places, equivalent powers are in the hands of the supervisory authority concerned. Another general regulation governing the em-

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ployment of minors ensures to them the necessary leave of absence for the purpose of attending courses of religious instruction, or such occupational or technical studies or in continuation schools as are wholly or in part provided at the expense of the State or the municipality.

The regulations under the Workers' Protection Act which deal with minors' working-hours have not been cancelled, it is true, but they have lost a good deal of their importance through the introduction of the 8-hour day. As regards their freedom from work at night, the former law lays down that they shall be allowed uninterrupted freedom from work during at least 11 hours out of every 24. These leisure hours shall, if the minor is under 16 and is engaged in industrial work or in the building trade or in the transport service, include the period between the hours of 7 p. m. and 6 a. m., or otherwise the period between the hours of 10 p. m. and 5 a. m. Exceptions to this last rule are, however, possible in the cases of youths who have passed their 16th year.

A minor shall be provided with a certificate book drawn up in a certain form, in which shall be entered certain certificates and particulars regarding the minor and his occupation specified in the Workers' Protection Act. These books so far as workplaces of some size are concerned, as mentioned above, in industry, the building trade and the transport service, give an examiner the opportunity of following year by year, under different occupations and, possibly, different working hours, the minor's development in weight, height, chest-measurement and state of health. On the minor attaining the age of 18, the books have to be sent to the State authority concerned.

As regards sailors, it is laid down in the Seamen's Act that a minor under 14 years of age may not be engaged to work on board ship, that on steamships plying on any route outside Swedish waters other than in Öresund or in the Oslo Fiord up to Larvik no one who has not attained the age of 18 may be employed as fireman or coal-trimmer, and that in any case no person who has not reached the age of 16 may be employed as a fireman.

The Employment of Women. The chief special regulations governing the employment of women have been drawn up in order to ensure to women workers necessary leave of absence in case of childbirth, and also a nightly rest — these measures having in both cases been taken not only out of consideration for the women them-

selves, but also to a great extent in the interests of their families and of the community in general.

As to leave of absence for childbirth, the rule is that a woman who has had a child must not be employed in industry or the building trade or in transport work during the first 6 weeks after her confinement unless she can produce a certificate from her doctor that she is able to resume work without causing any harm either to herself or to the child. Moreover, a woman who can produce a certificate either from a doctor or a midwife that her confinement may be expected within two weeks or so shall be entitled to leave of absence from her work. The same applies to a woman who can produce a certificate showing that she is expecting her confinement within six weeks and requires sick-leave in view thereof. A woman who is herself nursing her baby shall be allowed such time off as is required for the purpose. To provide the women workers with means of support during their absence on account of childbirth, arrangements have been made, as set forth in detail on p. 127, whereby they are ensured certain privileges in the way of sick benefit (to members of sick benefit societies) and maternity aid.

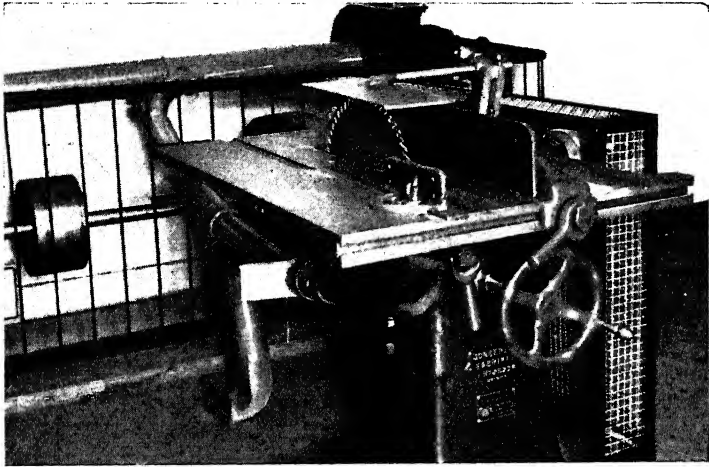
The rules concerning women workers' employment at night are the direct result of, and are drawn up in accordance with, the Berne Convention on the subject. Thus, women engaged in large-scale industry proper shall be off duty for at least 11 hours at night, which period shall always include the hours between 10 p. m. and 5 a. m. Exceptions to this rule may be allowed under certain conditions, but the possibilities for exceptions are somewhat strictly limited. By one or two Royal Ordinances, however, exceptions are allowed under special conditions in the case of certain canning industries.

Corresponding to what has already been mentioned as regards minors, the Government is empowered to lay down certain conditions for the employment of women workers should their work be considered dangerous or too strenuous or unhealthy, or else to prohibit their being engaged in such work.

Rules for Protection against Occupational Risks. The rules in the Workers' Protection Act regarding preventive measures against accident or ill-health in the course of work have practically universal application — they are to be observed, for instance, when machinery and certain other dangerous appliances are used in agriculture.

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The essential point in these regulations is that it is the duty of the employer to ensure that everything is done that can reasonably be considered necessary to protect the workers employed by him against accident or ill-health, whether in respect of premises, machinery or tools, or otherwise in consideration of the nature of the work. Similarly, the workers themselves are morally bound to exercise proper



Circular Saw, provided Safety Device and Apparatus for drawing off Sawdust.

caution and in all matters pertaining to their work to do all they can to co-operate in the prevention of accidents or ill-health.

The above-mentioned general duties of employers are still further extended in several special respects, firstly, as regards the safety of the work, and secondly as regards its healthiness. The regulations governing the last-mentioned requirement include the provisions mentioned above relating to nightly and weekly periods of rest and holidays. Such special protective regulations, however, are not laid down in detail, but the authority concerned issues specific regulations, as and when called for, in the form of orders, which are chiefly meant to instruct factory inspectors as to what is required in the way of machinery, methods of working, etc., in order to ensure safety. Moreover, the Government is authorized in case of necessity to issue special decrees, and in virtue thereof orders have been issued, *inter alia*, con-

cerning the registration and inspection of certain kinds of steam boilers and certain haulage and hoisting apparatus in mines and quarries.

Limitation of Working Hours. The Act Limiting Working Hours, like the Worker's Protection Act, is practically universal in its purpose, but its application is somewhat more limited by a good many exceptions, which are partly concerned with points of principle and have partly been laid down in connection with certain spheres of work. Thus, on account of the former the following exceptions are made: concerns having not more than four workers in their employ, work that is carried out in the worker's own home, or otherwise under such conditions that the employer cannot be held responsible for the supervision of the organization of the work, work that is carried out by a member of the employer's family, work of so irregular a nature that it cannot be done at fixed hours, and work carried on by the State. As being exceptions of the latter type, the following kinds of work are exempt from the application of this Act: hospitals and other institutions with a humanitarian or ideal purpose, work on board ship and fishing, forestry, timber-floating, the peat industry, agriculture and allied occupations, gardening and the tending of animals, traffic service on the railways, work done by assistants in shops, barbers' and hairdressers' shops, bathing-establishments, and such work in hotels, restaurants and cafés as constitutes the performing of direct service on behalf of the public, and also door-keepers' duties. It is specially provided in the Act that in its application the following shall not be deemed to be workers: foremen or others employed in a position of authority, draughtsmen, book-keepers or persons in a comparable position, commissionaires or other subordinate office employees.

Working hours are in the first place limited to 8 hours a day and 48 hours a week, but the daily working hours can be extended to 9 hours, provided the number of working hours per week is not exceeded.

From the above restrictions, however, it is possible for exemptions to be granted under special conditions laid down by the Labour Council (see below), in the case of work that is largely dependent upon the seasons or the weather, or which is otherwise of varying duration, continuous work that must in any case be carried out also on

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Sundays and holidays, and work that goes on only for short periods, or such as involves very little exertion or serves any purpose of exceptional public importance. Moreover, the Labour Council is authorized to grant exemption in cases where it has been found desirable in order to avert serious disorganization, and also when the great majority of the workers who would be affected by the exception find it desirable, and the working hours would not be unreasonably extended thereby.

Overtime is allowed, apart from cases of *force majeure*, etc., without special permission in connection with essential preparatory and finishing work, for a maximum period of 7 hours per week, and in connection with industrial work proper for not more than 48 hours per 4 calendar weeks and 200 hours per calendar year. If permission is granted by the Labour Council, the workers may work overtime for a further 150 hours a year. Minors may not be employed on overtime work, except in case of *force majeure*, etc. In the case of minors over 16 years old, however, the Labour Council may grant leave to work overtime.

Finally it may be mentioned that the Government in agreement with the Labour Council is entitled to allow an exception called for by special circumstances in cases where the application of this Act to certain kinds of work or undertakings would cause such difficulties as might jeopardize the continuance thereof. The Government is also empowered to exercise a similar far-reaching authority in regard to the hotel, restaurant and café industry. So far, however, neither of the powers here mentioned has been exercised.

The Act regulating the hours of work in agriculture, which, as mentioned above, is in force until 1/11 1939, is applicable in the first place to agriculture and allied subsidiary occupations which are not carried on as independent undertakings, as well as to constructional work for the purpose of agriculture or of those of its subsidiary occupations to which reference has just been made, provided that not less than three workers are employed, and in the second place to gardening carried on as an independent undertaking provided that not less than one worker is employed. The Act does not apply to work performed under such conditions that it cannot be considered the employer's duty to supervise its organization; nor to work done by a member of the employer's family; nor to milking and the tending and harvesting of root crops in cases where such

Protection of Workers

labour is paid for at piece-work rates, nor to ditching and forestry work paid at piece-work rates and not done by workers permanently employed by the undertaking; nor to work carried out by the State. Household tasks are likewise exempt from the application of the Act. Moreover, for the purpose of this Act the following shall not be deemed to be workers: agricultural inspectors or other persons in a position of authority, bookkeepers and other office clerks.

The hours of work are primarily limited to 10 hours a day. In regard to agriculture and constructional work for the purposes of agriculture and allied occupations, the weekly hours are laid down as 41, 46 and 54 hours according to how the first working day in the week falls in the respective periods December—February, March, October and November, or April—September. As regards workers engaged exclusively on the tending of animals, instead of the provision just mentioned, it is provided that the hours of work may not exceed 9 hours out of the 24 and, for two consecutive weeks, 108 hours. In the case of gardening, the hours of work are limited to 96 in any two consecutive weeks or else, in regard to weeks the first working day of which falls during the period April—September, to 106 hours, if the hours of work during the rest of the year are limited to 86 hours in any two consecutive weeks. The Labour Council may permit the hours of work, without their being extended beyond the number reckoned for the year, to be arranged in some other way than that mentioned above. In the course of a year, however, they may be extended by the Labour Council if special reasons call for such action. Further, the Labour Council is empowered to allow exceptions from the limitations otherwise in force when the great majority of the workers who would be affected by the exception find it desirable and the hours of work are not unreasonably extended as a result thereof.

Overtime is allowed, apart from cases of *force majeure*, etc., without special permission in connection with cases of birth, sickness or accident among animals, essential preparatory and finishing work, and gardening, watchmen's duties, watering and other necessary forms of maintenance, for a maximum period of 7 hours a week, and, in connection with agricultural work proper, for not more than 48 hours in the course of 4 calendar weeks and 260 hours during a period of 12 consecutive months.

Finally, it is laid down, as in the case of the general Act regulating hours of work, that the Government in agreement with the Labour

Application and Supervision of the Legislation

Council is entitled to allow an exception called for by special circumstances in cases where the application of the Act regulating hours of work in agriculture to certain kinds of work or undertakings would cause such difficulties as might jeopardize the continuance thereof.

As regards the hours of work on board ship, there are different regulations in force according to whether the ship is on a voyage or lying in port, and in the former case dependent upon the nature of the vessel. Moreover, the working hours differ for the different occupational categories. On the whole, however, the following rules may be deemed to apply. The daily working hours at sea on a long voyage are restricted on an average to 12 hours for deckhands, 8 hours for engineers and stokers, and 12 hours for the galley staff. On short voyages which do not necessitate a division into watches, the working hours for the crew as a whole are limited to 63 hours per week. When the ship is in port, the crew's working hours must generally not exceed 8 hours daily on weekdays (7 hours in the tropics), and for the galley staff 12 hours. Exceptions to the prescribed rules may be made under certain circumstances. Overtime is limited, *inter alia*, to 18 hours a week, and the pay per hour for such work should be on weekdays at least 1/150, and on Sundays and holidays at least 1/75 of the seaman's monthly cash wages. The Government is given general authority to permit exceptions to the application of this Act, when there are special reasons for doing so.

2. Application and Supervision of the Legislation.

Factory Inspection. Factory inspection was established in Sweden in 1889 for the purpose of supervising the above-mentioned Workers' Protection Act which was passed by the Riksdag in the same year, and it came into force at the beginning of the year following. To begin with, there were appointed only three factory inspectors, but by the year 1895 their number had grown to five, and a few years later a special factory inspector was added for the inspection of the manufacture of explosives. When the above-mentioned law relating to minors was revised, the duty of ensuring its observance was deputed to the factory inspectors, and for this purpose their number was increased by three as from the year 1901. The next change in the

Protection of Workers

factory inspectorate, entailing its thorough reorganization, an account of which will be given further on, was effected in 1912, in connection with the passing, in the same year, of the Workers' Protection Act, which is still in force, and the factory inspection system was then given the form that it still retains in all essentials.



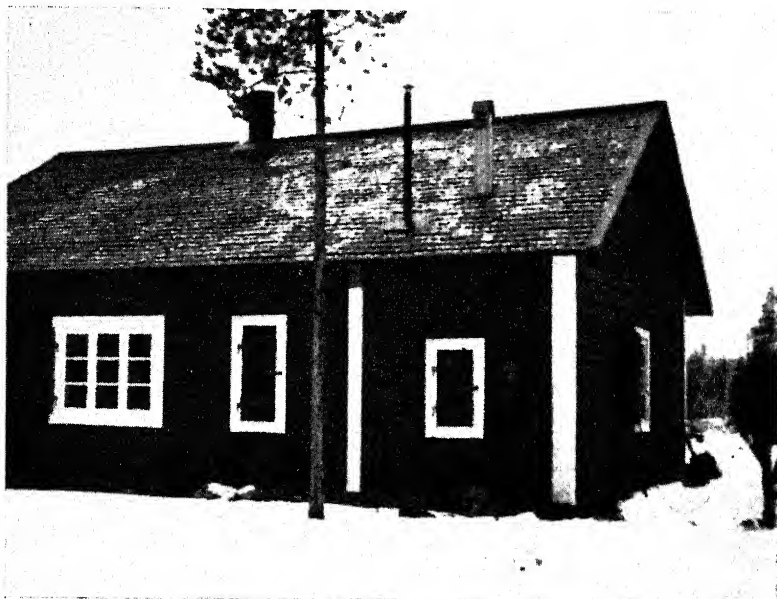
Dust-absorbing Apparatus at a Grinding and Polishing Works.

The present organization was established in 1913, and at the same time it ceased to be responsible to the Board of Trade and was instead placed under the supervision and control of the Social Board, which was established in the same year, under the immediate authority of the bureau dealing with the protection of workers, the head of that bureau thus being the immediate controller of the work of the factory inspectors. This bureau, which likewise has to deal with matters concerning the protection of workers in general, is provided with a staff trained both in the law and in various technical branches, and there is also a doctor attached to the bureau as an expert on hygiene.

Application and Supervision of the Legislation

From 1938 onwards the workers' protection bureau of the Social Board, together with the Factory Inspectorate, will be under the State Insurance Institution.

The duties of the factory inspectors are divided up between officials employed by the State and persons who are members of or employed



Quarters for Lumbermen, equipped with Drying-room and arranged for common Mess.

by the boards of health of the different communes. Among the former, those in State employ, a distinction may be made between those devoting their whole time to the inspection of factories — the staff of the Factory Inspectorate proper — and those giving only part of their time to inspection work, side by side with their own particular occupation, involving other — though closely related — duties (special inspectors).

The staff of the Factory Inspectorate proper consists of 9 factory inspectors, 1 woman factory inspector, 11 assistants to the factory inspectors, 2 women assistants to the woman factory inspector, 18 sub-inspectors, and 10 clerks. As a rule, there are also to be found on

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this staff one or two minor officials who might be regarded as candidates for the post of assistant. For the purpose of factory inspection, the country is divided into 9 districts, in which the duties are carried out by one factory inspector with the aid of 1 or 2 assistants and 1—3 sub-inspectors, and also one clerk. The woman inspector, with the aid of her two assistants and a clerk, carries on her functions throughout the country in those districts where women workers are specially numerous.

Finally, the staff proper also includes an inspector, with assistants, entrusted with the task of looking after the housing conditions of forest-workers and those engaged in timber-floating. This inspector, appointed in 1919 in connection with the passing of the above-mentioned laws governing the provision of accommodation for forest-workers and those engaged in rafting, has since been appointed a special inspector of forestry and timber-floating.

Among the special inspectors should be noted, besides the above-mentioned inspector of the housing conditions of the workers engaged in forestry and timber-floating, first of all, the officials of the mining industry — 4 superintendents of mines, assisted by 3 mining engineers — these carrying out the duties in regard to the mining industry which would otherwise be performed by the factory inspectors proper. Other special inspectors are: the inspector for the manufacture of explosives, already mentioned, 4 dealing with electrical establishments, and 3 with the running of railways.

The task of supervising the carrying out of the Workers' Protection Act is entrusted to the communal boards of health — there were 2,748 in the year 1935 — and is concerned primarily with small workshops in the spheres of commerce, handicrafts and building where machinery is not employed. The communal inspection is carried out under the superintendence of the factory inspectors.

In this connection may also be mentioned the workers' right accorded them by the Workers' Protection Act, to choose representatives at the different establishments for the purpose of co-operating to a certain extent with the factory inspectors. For the year 1936 there were registered for the purpose of factory inspection workers' nominees representing 2,344 working establishments, mostly of some size.

Finally, we may mention the doctors who have to carry out the annual medical inspection of minors employed in industry proper,

Application and Supervision of the Legislation

to which reference has been made above. In 1935 the number of these medical officers, who are appointed by the provincial governors, was about 100.

As to the training of the members of the staff, the following particulars may be noted.

To be appointed a factory inspector the applicant must have passed an examination in a technical university college or have received an equivalent education and for a total of 8 years carried on work which may be considered a suitable preparation for the office of a factory inspector, as well as having acted as an assistant inspector.

A woman inspector must have passed examinations in suitable subjects at a university or college or received an education corresponding in the main thereto and have pursued such studies and carried on such work as may be considered to give her a good theoretical and practical knowledge of industrial and public hygiene, labour conditions, social legislation, etc.

The sub-inspectors must have some theoretical training in applied mechanics and electricity, as well as a sound practical knowledge of general engineering and of the construction and tending of boilers. Most of the sub-inspectors were formerly engineers or workers in engineering works.

Owing to the wide scope covered by the legislation for the protection of workers in Sweden, there are a relatively very large number of workshops under the supervision of the factory inspectors. According to the regulations, however, this supervision should be concentrated in a practical manner and devoted first of all to occupations in which the work might be considered to involve the risk of accident, ill-health, or other drawbacks. Should such risk be deemed not to exist as a rule in certain forms of occupation, the supervisory organization concerned is not bound to inspect the place of work where such activities are carried on, unless a complaint or any other special circumstance gives reasonable cause for such action.

The chief duty of the officials engaged in factory inspection is to instruct and advise employers how to carry out the more generally applicable regulations contained in the Workers' Protection Act with a view to the prevention of accidents and injury to health. For this purpose it is laid down as the special duty of the factory inspectors and similar officials, at the request of the employer and without charge to him, to examine proposals for the

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building, rebuilding or extension of works premises, or for the reorganization or modification of the existing methods of work. The officials have no right to issue any binding regulations. Should the employer not obey the instructions thus given, it is the duty of the official in question — whether a sub-inspector or communal supervisory organization — through the intermediary of the factory inspector to approach the chief authority responsible for factory inspection and cause the continued performance of certain work or the continued use of certain premises, machinery, tools or methods of work to be prohibited, unless the protective measures in question be adopted. Should the employer infringe such prohibition, he is liable to a fine or imprisonment.

The above observations relate to the safety and the hygienic conditions of the work. As regards the employment of women and minors and the limitation or arrangement of working hours, the Workers' Protection Act contains generally detailed regulations, and in that connection the work of the factory inspectors is less of a consultative and more of a directly supervisory character. Moreover, any breach of these regulations involves the direct risk of liability to a penalty. As regards the clauses incorporated by the 1931 Act relating to nightly and weekly rest, holidays, etc. the chief authority responsible for factory inspection has to issue special regulations in case of breach, providing for necessary protective measures. Only when these regulations are infringed, is the employer liable to a penalty.

According to the report on the work of the factory inspectors, the total number of places of work registered with the officials actually in State employ amounted in 1936 to 62,700, and the number of those registered with the communal supervisory organizations was about 41,200 — it is more than likely, however, that owing to defective registration the latter figures are considerably below the number of places of work subject to the inspection of the said organizations. The sum total of workshops inspected during that year amounted to 21,900 for the first group of officials. As regards the various special inspectors, there are no corresponding data available.

A simple comparison of the figures representing the number of registered officials actually in State employ and the number of places of work inspected by them indicates that the frequency of inspection is fairly low. It must be remembered, however, that, as pointed out

above, the work of inspection is essentially concentrated upon such spheres of activity as those in which the work must be considered to involve the risk of accident, ill-health, or other drawbacks. The true measure of effectivity of the work of inspection must therefore be considered to differ from and to be higher than that which the above comparison would appear to indicate. It should be pointed out, however, that owing to parts of the country being sparsely populated each journey of inspection must take a comparatively long time.

Inspection of Ships. The application of the regulations issued for the safety of shipping, including protection against occupational risks incurred in service on board ship, is superintended by the shipping inspectors under the authority of the Board of Trade, which in the matter of protection against occupational risks, etc. acts in consultation with the chief authority responsible for the factory inspection, and on the staff of whose Workers' Protection Bureau is a nautically trained assistant for dealing with matters concerning shipping. The actual inspection on board is carried out by the shipping inspectors. For this purpose the country is divided up into six districts, each under a chief inspector of shipping, who must be a certified engineer. In addition there are for the six districts 18 second inspectors of shipping and 2 extra officials; these must either have had training in engineering or some other mechanical science or else in nautical science.

Ships are subjected both to periodical surveys for ascertaining their seaworthiness and occasional so-called inspections, when the chief points of investigation are the equipment of the ship, the loading conditions, the arrangement of the accommodation and other hygienic conditions. If the conditions are found to be so unsatisfactory in certain stated respects that a voyage in the vessel may reasonably be deemed likely to endanger the lives of those on board, the inspector may forbid the sailing of the ship until the deficiencies have been remedied. The inspectors of shipping have also to ensure the due observance of the law relating to working hours on board ship.

The Labour Council. As has been previously indicated, the application of the legislation governing the limitation of working hours has, in some important respects, been subjected to the jurisdiction of the Labour Council. Thus this authority has the sole

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and decisive right to determine whether the general Act limiting hours of work or the Act relating to hours of work in agriculture is applicable to a given task or to a given worker and, under conditions laid down in those Acts, to grant the right to extend the ordinary hours of work, permission for overtime work, etc. This institution — which is peculiar to Sweden — has proved successful in rendering possible reasonable consideration for the demands of practical life in the application of the 8-hours day, which has had such a profound influence in many quarters, in preventing disputes between employers and workers on the question of the regulation of working hours and in securing a uniform application of the law.

The Labour Council consists of nine members chosen by the Government. Of these, three are appointed from amongst persons who cannot be considered to represent the interests of either the employers or the workers, and at least one of them shall be versed in the law and a qualified judge. The Government appoints one of these three members to be Chairman of the Council, and one to be his deputy. Of the other six members two are nominated upon the recommendation of those national associations of employers whose members employ a total of at least 50,000 workers, two upon the recommendation of such national unions of workers as number at least 50,000 members, one upon the recommendation of the Advisory Council of the Swedish Employers' Federations and one upon the recommendation of the Confederation of Trade Unions. The two latter members shall serve on the Council when matters concerned with the Act relating to hours of work in agriculture are up for consideration, and on such occasions the former will take the place of one of the members appointed upon the recommendation of the employers' associations and the latter will take the place of one of the members appointed upon the recommendation of the workers' unions.

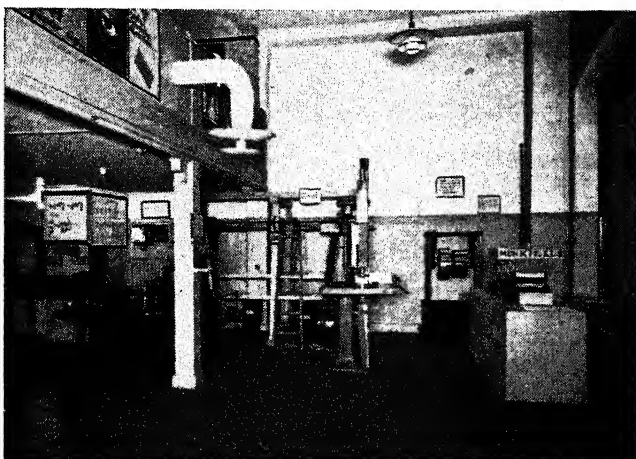
When the Working Hours Act first came into operation in 1919, the Labour Council was much overburdened with work, but the volume of work has decreased considerably since the beginning of 1921. Whereas during 1920 no less than 2,905 cases were submitted to the Labour Court, in 1921 the number of cases up for decision was only 929. In recent years — since the beginning of 1926 — the Council's burden of work has again proved very heavy and, indeed, has been constantly increasing; the number of cases dealt with had risen in 1935 to 3,175. The total number of cases on which the

Private Associations and Welfare Work

Council has pronounced final judgment during the period from the passing of the law up to the 1st October 1936 amounts to over 33,000.

3. Private Associations and Welfare Work.

The Society for the Protection of Workers. This Society, which was founded in 1905 and the members of which consist both



The Society for the Protection of Workers. A View of the Exhibition Premises in Stockholm.

of private persons and industrial undertakings, has taken upon itself the task of working side by side with the State factory inspection, to further the protection of workers by seeking to arouse interest in the taking of steps to prevent accidents and injury to health in the course of work. The Society endeavours to achieve its aim by the exhibition of technically protective and properly made machinery and apparatus, also of models, drawings and photographs of suitable safety devices, as well as by arranging lectures and exhibitions of lantern slides or films, by distributing pictures showing methods of protection and warning notices, and by other activities with a similar purpose ("Safety First" propaganda).

The Society, which receives a grant from the State, has arranged

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a permanent exhibition in Stockholm, which is open to the public daily at fixed hours, and upon application demonstrations of the objects exhibited are given by experts before employers, workers, pupils at the technical schools, and other persons interested. For several years past the Society has published a monthly magazine called "The Protection of Workers".

The Workers' Samaritan Society in Stockholm. The object of this Society, which was founded in 1931, is to contribute towards the efforts being made to prevent industrial accidents, especially by arousing amongst the working classes interest in and a better understanding of the subject. With this end in view a great many propaganda lectures have been held before large numbers of workers at various industrial centres.

Moreover, the Society has undertaken the task of giving first aid — through members who have received the necessary training — in the case of accidents occurring at places of work. For this purpose the Society organizes extensive courses in first-aid work, each course concluding with an examination before an Examining Committee consisting of doctors and representatives of societies for the protection of workers against accidents. Having successfully passed certain tests, the person concerned is entitled to wear the Society's First-Aid Badge, a gilt cross bearing the letters ASF (*Arbetarnas Samaritförening* — The Workers' Samaritan Society) in red enamel.

In order to afford first-aid workers in the different working centres a wider knowledge of problems relating to the subject, the Society arranges for special courses to be held by experts on the workers' protection laws.

The Society, which comprises both individual members and collectively associated members, at the close of 1935 numbered 1,055 members, 81 being collective, the latter groups representing about 60,000 individuals.

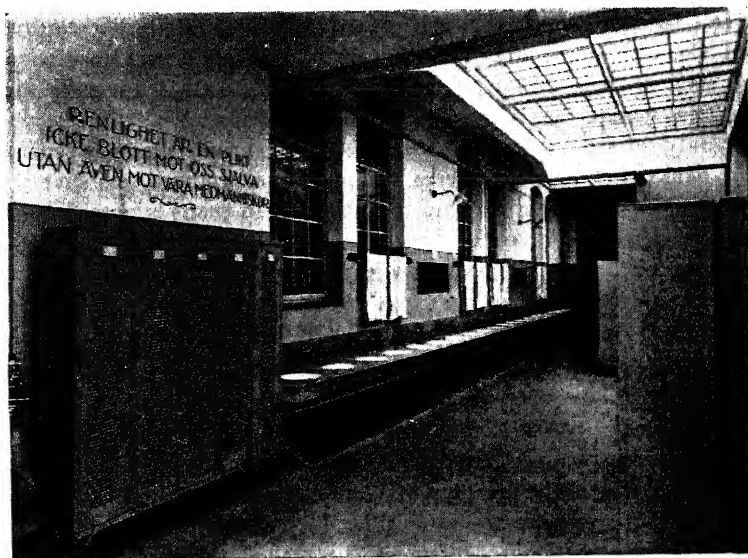
Similar societies have been founded or are in course of formation at several other localities in the country.

Welfare Work. The history of welfare work begins in Sweden on the old ironworking estates. Usually these were situated in the country far from towns or more or less densely populated districts, and generally grew up round an employer who took a personal in-

Private Associations and Welfare Work



Cottage Hospital at a Dockyard (Götaverken, Gothenburg).



Lavatory at a Chocolate Factory (Cloetta, Ljungsbro).

terest in his workmen. The owner and the members of his family shared in and were interested in everything connected with the workmen, and naturally the employer was the person to turn to in every kind of difficulty. Moreover, the isolated position of the estate usually made it necessary for the employer to provide medical care, schools, dwellings, etc.

With the introduction of modern working methods, these patriarchal conditions have gradually disappeared and the larger industrial communities have become independent communes and have assumed many of the ironworking estates' former functions. The public spirit which had once gained a firm footing there has often survived, however, and has formed a good soil for the development of organized social work in its modern forms. Such concerns as Sandviken, Jönsered, Åtvidaberg, Stora Kopparberg, and Gustafsberg afford typically good examples of this development.

The conditions under which the newer industries in Sweden sprang up were essentially different from those of the old ironworking estates, and the development of welfare work within them has proceeded on other lines. Of special importance have been the so-called "staff welfare offices" here — an idea which originated in America.

The first of these was established in 1908 by Messrs Wettergren and Co. of Gothenburg, and this method of endeavouring to help the staff at their own place of work to manage their finances in a practical manner has since then become fairly wide-spread in Sweden. Not only do staff welfare offices exist in factories, commercial firms and banks, but in some places the municipal authorities themselves have established them for their employees. In many places the staff welfare offices have confined their activities to this purely economic purpose, but in other places they have developed on American lines, forming a centre for promoting a wider social life within the business. The superintendent of the staff welfare office has thus gradually developed into the modern "staff adviser".

To quote the instructions laid down in connection with one of these posts, this new type of official in the business world has "on behalf of the management to see that the demands of hygiene and comfort are satisfied, as far as the premises and conditions of work are concerned; by gaining a close personal acquaintance with the staff to enable the management to take into wise and just consideration the psychical and physical working capabilities of the individual; and to propose, and

when necessary superintend, the establishment and administration of such institutions for the benefit of the employees as are specially desirable on account of the situation of the factory, the nature of its products, etc."

It is but natural that this staff work should have been carried on along different lines in different undertakings. Thus, at one working place it is the staff welfare office which is made the centre of these activities, another factory concentrates on hygiene and medical care, while at still another the staff adviser may perhaps devote his principal attention to the organizing of study circles, sport, etc.

The branches of activity that may form the chief functions of the staff adviser or of the staff department in large businesses, according to the above-mentioned instructions, are as follows:

I. 1) To supervise the general hygienic conditions in the business, such as keeping the premises clean and ventilated, special attention being paid to the sanitary arrangements, cloak-rooms, lavatories, etc.

2) In collaboration with the work's medical adviser to make every effort to promote personal hygiene; to assist the Government medical inspector on the occasion of the annual examination of minors and to follow his instructions; to look after the factory's medical and surgical stores and, whenever it is found expedient to do so, to visit the workers' homes.

II. 1) To assist in the appointment of new members of the staff, in effecting transfers from one department to another, and in deciding questions of leave.

2) In constant touch with the foreman or sub-manager concerned, to follow the career of minors in particular and the progress they make in their work.

III. 1) To assist the employees, when requested, by giving them information and advice, as well as due consideration in all matters submitted to him.

2) To open a savings account in cases where it is found expedient and, in the event of its being administered by the wages office, to keep in touch with its activities.

3) To recommend and, when necessary, to supervise the establishment and administration of various institutions for the welfare of the employees, such as canteen, dining-rooms, club premises, baths, crèches, children's settlements, convalescent or holiday homes dwellings.

4) To promote and encourage the staff's efforts to improve their minds by providing them with books, affording them opportunities for going through courses at polytechnic schools, etc, and to assist the staff in organizing walking-tours and holiday trips, reading circles, clubs, social evenings and suchlike, and by that means to contribute towards fostering the community spirit and creating a lively sense of companionship.

Among the undertakings, which have established this form of modern social activity should be mentioned, *inter alia*: A.-B. Separator, A.-B. Svenska Tobaksmonopolet (tobacco monopoly), P. A. Norstedt & Söner (publishers), Borås Väveri A.-B. (weaving-mills), Jönköpings Tändsticksfabriker (matches), Malmö Manufaktur A.-B., A.-B. Nordiska Kompaniet (department stores), Skofabriken Oscaria (boots & shoes), A.-B. Gunnar Collijn (clothes), Arméns Centrala Beklädnadsverkstad (army clothing), Svenska Kullagerfabriken (ball-bearings), Stockholms Allmänna Restaurang A.-B. (restaurateurs), A.-B. Norma (restaurateurs), Chokladfabriken Marabou (chocolate), Malmö Strumpfabrik (hosiery). Thus in both the older and newer industries in Sweden it is beginning to be realized that "staff welfare work" is an important factor in production.

A certain tendency further to develop this work among the staff into a true "staff administration", with employment office, psycho-technical department, occupational training and workers' protection and safety departments, has begun to make its appearance in recent years. Mention should also be made in this connection of the regulations governing workers' representatives, to which reference has been made above, and the scope of which was widened as a result of the revision of the law in 1931; in their revised form they open up fresh possibilities for a sound development in the sphere of social welfare.

Welfare work in Sweden has thus passed through the whole course of development from philanthropy and social dilettantism to being an acknowledged and legitimate factor in the very methods of production, although naturally different forms still survive side by side.

IV. Social Insurance.

1. Accident Insurance.

History. Apart from certain special ordinances, early Swedish legislation did not contain any other provisions as to the employer's liability to compensate workers injured during their employment than could be found in common law concerning general liability for damages. The first step towards legislation more in conformity with the demands of the time was taken in 1884, when the Riksdag made representations to the Government. The result was the appointment of a Workmen's Insurance Committee, which, *inter alia*, worked out a proposal for compulsory accident insurance for workers in industry, land transport, and shipping. But this proposal was not accepted by the Riksdag, nor were a couple of other proposals aiming at compulsory accident and invalidity insurance brought forward by a New Workmen's Insurance Committee in the 1890's.

After these unsuccessful attempts to introduce compulsory insurance, efforts were directed towards promoting legislation for direct liability for compensation, and in 1901 the Riksdag passed an Act concerning compensation for accidents during employment. The Act was promulgated on 5th July 1901 and came into operation on 1st January 1903. It lays down the employer's liability to pay compensation throughout practically the entire range of industry, including lumbering and mining, and also in connection with the loading and unloading of goods, and in connection with railway and tramway traffic. On the other hand, the Act did *not* apply to agriculture, handicrafts, commerce, or shipping. Compensation was paid at a certain fixed rate irrespective of the earnings of the workman and became due from the 61st day after the accident. The Act prescribed the establishment of a *State Insurance Institution* (see p. 37), in which employers could take out insurance and thus cover their liability. The State Insurance Institution, which had to compete with private insurance companies, began its activities on 1st September 1902; it was afterwards granted the right to cover insurance for the first 60 days after the accident also and for accidents outside employment.

However, the necessity for a thorough revision of the law soon made itself felt, so that its scope should be extended, insurance made compulsory, etc. The question was referred to an Old Age Pensions Committee, appointed in 1907, which in 1915 recommended a scheme based on the duty of the employer to insure either with the State Insurance Institution or with the mutual accident insurance companies founded by the employers, and covering practically everyone who worked for remuneration on behalf of another person. With certain alterations this scheme was accepted by the Riksdag, and accordingly the Industrial Accident Insurance Act now in force was passed on 17th June 1916 and became operative on 1st January 1918. The Act has repeatedly been amended and in its present shape may be regarded as better than the majority of modern laws on the subject in other countries. Sweden has also ratified the conventions adopted at the International Labour Conference in 1925 concerning workmen's compensation for accidents and occupational diseases and equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents.

The Act of 17th June, 1916, is in its present form substantially of the following purport.

General Regulations. Every person is insured who in return for wages executes work for another's account and who in relation to him cannot be considered an independent contractor, also every person who while learning a trade executes such work. Students at certain institutions specified by the Government for teaching trades and departments of such institutions are deemed employed workers under the Act, even though they may not be working in the employ of another (Royal Decree of December 1933, which came into force 1st January 1934). Exceptions are: those who perform the work in their homes or at a place which they themselves determine, and anyone who is casually employed by a person who does not otherwise employ labour. The rule of exemption also applies where the work is carried out on behalf of only one employer by his wife, his children living at home, and his parents.

Industrial accidents are deemed to include accidents during the journey to or from the place of work, where the journey is occasioned by or immediately connected with the employment.

Insurance is effected either with the State Insurance Institution or a

mutual accident insurance company established for the purpose by the employers with unlimited liability for the shareholders. If the insurance is not taken out in such a company, it is considered to be in force automatically, without application or other steps, with the State Insurance Institution.

Compensation. In the case of sickness caused by accident¹ the injured worker receives, from the day of the accident inclusive, and for so long as the sickness lasts, *firstly* medical treatment, medicine and any necessary artificial appliances, etc., and *secondly* — provided the sickness lasts more than 3 days, excluding the day of the accident — as from the day following that of the accident and so long as the sickness continues, a daily allowance, consisting in case of loss of capacity for work, of a fixed amount based on his annual earnings, reckoned as follows: in the case of earnings up to 675 kronor per annum, 1 krona; between 675—944 kronor, 1 krona 50 öre; and so on up to annual earnings of 2,835 kronor or more, 5 kronor 50 öre; in the case of a reduction of the capacity for work a smaller amount is paid proportionate to the reduction. The daily allowance is not paid if the capacity for work has not been reduced by at least a quarter.

After the state of sickness has ceased, any possible invalidity remaining is compensated for by an annuity corresponding, in case of loss of working capacity, to two-thirds of the annual earnings of the injured person, and in the case of reduction of working capacity, to a lower amount proportionate to the reduction, with a bonus corresponding to the probable annual cost of renewing any artificial appliance. In the event of loss of capacity for work when the condition of the injured person calls for special treatment, the annuity may be fixed at a higher rate than two-thirds of, but not at an amount exceeding, his annual earnings. No annuity is granted if the reduction of capacity for work is less than one-tenth. Compensation is granted

¹ As from 1937 injuries are also considered as due to accident caused during a few days at the most either mechanically by the effect of the work, such as galls, blisters, inflammation of the tendon-sheath or by temperature conditions during work, if the injury consists of heat stroke, sunstroke or frostbite, or by certain irritant or corrosive materials used in the work but not mentioned in the Act relating to insurance against certain occupational diseases, such as sulphuric acid, nitric acid, lime or calcium nitrate or mixtures containing such substances; in these cases the date of the accident shall be deemed to be the day on which the injury manifested itself.

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for treatment such as massage, etc. which may be necessary for increasing the capacity for work.

If death supervenes on the accident, compensation shall be given as follows: a funeral benefit of one-tenth of the annual earnings of the deceased, with a minimum of 100 kronor, and annuities to the surviving dependants, i. e. to the widow or widower an annual amount corresponding to a fourth of the annual earnings of the deceased; to each child up to the age of 16 an amount corresponding to a sixth of the earnings; to the deceased's parents, in the event of their having been chiefly dependent on him, an annuity corresponding to the value of the support they received from him, but with a maximum of a fourth of his earnings.

In the event of the total annuities to his surviving dependents exceeding two-thirds of the annual earnings of the deceased, they shall be reduced so that together they only reach the said two-thirds. It should here be observed that annuities to wife (or husband) and children shall be paid prior to annuities to parents.

The annuity shall not be granted to a widower unless he has been dependent on the work of the deceased for his support, and may not be given if the widower has substantially neglected his duty to maintain his wife and children. In the last-mentioned case the annuity may be paid to the children of the deceased. To a widow or widower in receipt of an annuity who remarries before the age of 60 is granted a lump-sum corresponding to three-quarters of the annual earnings of the deceased.

In estimating an injury, account must be taken of its effects on the special skill which the occupation of the injured person may demand and of the age and sex of the injured person as well as of any previous physical injury or disability.

If the annual earnings exceed 3,000 kronor, they shall be reckoned at that amount, and if they are under 450 kronor at the latter amount.

If the injured person has been received into a nursing institution, the insurance institution may deduct at most half the daily allowance paid during the stay in hospital to cover the cost of treatment there.

The Insurance Premiums. Insurance premiums are fixed at the amount which, calculated on an actuarial basis, is considered to cover the particular risks, consideration being paid to the dangers

of the occupation generally and to the special conditions under which it is carried on. As a contribution towards the expenses of the Insurance Council (the appellate authority, see below) and the State Insurance Institution, for every policy taken out with the State Insurance Institution an amount corresponding to 5 % of the insurance premium shall be paid to the State. Insurance companies coming under the Act pay for the same purposes 3 % of the amount of the insurance premiums. The other expenses of the above-mentioned State institutions are met out of State funds.

If the employer undertakes personally, either wholly or in part, to pay compensation in the case of accidents, he may — usually against the deposit of security approved of by the insurance institution — be exempted from paying the insurance premium or pay at a lower rate (termed personal risk). But the above-mentioned contribution to the expenses of administration must always be paid. The State and certain municipalities undertake personal risk, naturally without depositing security.

The employer is liable to give both the Insurance Council and the State Insurance Institution (when insuring with same) all information required for fixing the amount of insurance premium or compensation. The said institutions may for the same purpose examine the employer's pay-sheets and lists, and demand from the proper authority, or themselves make, an investigation of the conditions under which the work is carried on.

The insurance premiums collected by the State Insurance Institution go to form a fund, which is administered in accordance with definite principles laid down by the State. Any premiums not paid are advanced by the State and recovered in the same way as arrears of taxes.

Notifying and Investigating Accidents. If a workman is injured as the result of an accident in the course of his employment, the employer or the works manager shall immediately be informed. A written report must be made by the employer or the works manager to the insurance institution, accompanied by a doctor's certificate. A police investigation may be demanded, and witnesses or experts may be heard before a public court.

Special Regulations. An accident wilfully caused by the injured

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person or those surviving him may not be the basis of a claim for compensation. If the accident was caused because the injured person did not observe the regulations in force or the directions as to measures for the prevention of accidents, and if the circumstances are such that he must be considered to have been guilty of gross carelessness, or if the accident was caused by the injured person having been under the influence of strong drink, the compensation payable to him may be reasonably reduced.

As regards a foreigner who is not domiciled in Sweden, there are certain restrictions, which may, however, be set aside by conventions with foreign states. A convention may also be entered into regarding the application of the Swedish Industrial Accident Insurance Act or that of the foreign State, in cases in which the employer in one State carries on in the other activities in which workers are employed.

Appeal. Appeals from decisions concerning compensation or the application of the Act may be made to the *Insurance Council*, a State Court consisting of ten members, of whom 2 represent the employers and 2 the workers. The Council has the right to take up cases for inquiry on its own initiative. Appeal may not be made from the Council's decisions, which are given free of costs.

Penalties. It is enacted that failure to notify accidents or to give any information required is punishable by fines. For deliberately furnishing incorrect information fines from 25 to 1,000 kronor may be imposed. Fines imposed under the Act go to the above-mentioned fund.

Voluntary Accident Insurance. Employers are entitled to insure against industrial accident other workers than those covered by the Act (e. g. children at home and parents) and also workers insured under the Act to cover accidents incurred outside work.

Special Provisions respecting Compensation for Occupational Diseases. According to the provisions of a special Act of 14th June 1929, with later amendments, every person who in conformity with the Industrial Accident Insurance Act is insured against injury resulting from accidents during employment must likewise be insured against occupational disease wholly or mainly caused by the action of arsenic or its compounds, lead, its alloys or compounds,

mercury, its amalgams and compounds, phosphorus or its compounds, stone dust, radiant heat or light, X-rays or radium, anthrax infection.

As from 1937 the said Act includes occupational diseases produced wholly or mainly by the action of benzene or any of its homologues (such as toluene or xylene) or any of their nitro or amido derivatives (such as nitrobenzene or trinitrotoluene, aniline or paraphenylenediamine), halogen derivatives of hydrocarbons of the aliphatic series (such as chloroform or trichlorethylene), carbon monoxide, cyanogen or its compounds, chlorine, hypochlorite or chloride of lime, chloramine, nitrous gases, chromic acid or any compound thereof, and radioactive substances. Further shall be deemed occupational diseases the diseases listed below when wholly or mainly produced by the insured person's work, *viz.*: infectious diseases referred to in § 2 of the Infectious Diseases Act of 19th June 1919 or respecting which ordinances have been issued in conformity with § 24 of the said Act, provided the occupation consists of professional instruction or of nursing or midwifery or comprises medical research in a laboratory subjected to public inspection, as also primary cancer of the skin.

In respect of insurance regarding such occupational diseases the provisions of the Accident Insurance Act shall apply where relevant, subject however to the observance of the special regulations issued under the Occupational Diseases Insurance Act.

It should be noted that even if an occupational disease be wholly or mainly produced by the action of any of the above-mentioned products, it does not in every instance entitle the person to compensation under the Act. There is the further requirement that the worker shall within a certain period prior to the appearance of the disease have been employed on work in which the workers are exposed to action of the kind which produced the disease. This period in respect of diseases produced by the action of X-rays or radium, and as from 1937 in respect of radioactive products and stone dust, has been fixed at 10 years, while as regards other occupational diseases it is fixed at 1 year.

In reference to the right to compensation in respect of occupational disease this is subject to 2 years' prescription. The sick person therefore has lost his right to compensation if within 2 years from the date of the appearance of the disease¹ information has not been given

¹ As from 1937 likewise within 2 years from the later date on which the worker obtained knowledge of the nature of the disease.

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in conformity with § 20 of the Accident Insurance Act to the employer or works manager or claim for compensation made to the State Insurance Institution or to the Insurance Council or, if an insurance company is liable to pay the compensation, to the State Insurance Institution, Insurance Council or insurance company. As to compensation to the survivors of a worker who has died as a result of occupational disease, the Act lays down that such compensation shall not be paid unless the death occurred within 2 years from the date of the appearance¹ of the disease and, further, unless information concerning the disease has been given or claim for compensation made in the manner stated above within 2 years of the date of death.

The State Insurance Institution has likewise to deal with a number of matters other than those which arise from the Act of 1916. These include payment of annuities still outstanding under the Act of 1901, handling questions relating to a special State-supported accident insurance for fishermen, payment of compensation for injuries (including illness) sustained during military service, and compensation for accidents occasioned by the conditions during the World War. Annuities for children born out of wedlock as well as annuities payable in connection with traffic insurance by Swedish insurance companies not entitled to retain liability for annuities, or by foreign companies, may be purchased from the State Insurance Institution. Moreover the Institution undertakes life assurance in conjunction with loans for the purchase of houses under the "own home" system. The Institution has to issue an annual report and in addition publishes an annual statistical summary of all industrial accidents occurring in the Kingdom.

Of great importance to social accident insurance are the Northern Countries' Workmen's Insurance Meetings, held as a rule every 4th year, at which representatives of the Northern countries' social insurance institutions discuss questions primarily connected with social accident insurance. The lectures and discussions held at these meetings are published in book form and are valuable sources to those who wish to obtain further information as to how these questions are regarded in the North. The most recent of these meetings, the eighth, was held at Copenhagen in 1935.

¹ As from 1937 likewise within 2 years from the later date on which the worker obtained knowledge of the nature of the disease.

2. Sickness Benefit Funds.

History. As is the case in several other countries, sickness funds are able to boast of ancient lineage in Sweden. Their first prototypes may thus be traced back to the mediæval guilds and livery companies. A considerable number of the sickness benefit societies thus originated continued to exist, although under changed conditions, even after the introduction of industrial liberty (1864). In all essentials the present day Swedish sickness fund movement is, however, a creation of modern times. The movement received its first impetus in the late 'seventies through the then numerous so-called *One Hundred Men* and *Thousand Men Societies*, as well as through the various *Orders* and *Clubs* which flourished greatly at the same time, particularly in Stockholm and other large cities. Of still greater importance for the work of the sickness funds were, however, the strong social popular movements — especially the temperance and trade union movements — which towards the end of the 1880's made their appearance particularly amongst manual workers and the like, and which had on their programmes also sick benefit and other similar relief activities. As a proper appreciation of the importance of the work of the sickness funds grew, they began to appear in larger and larger numbers, being formed for the sole purpose of granting sickness benefit, and having no connection with other objects. By far the greater number of the sickness funds active at the present time are of this type. The growth of industry has naturally contributed in several ways towards the development of the sickness funds movement; *inter alia*, a large number of so-called employers' (factory) sick benefit clubs have by this means been brought into existence, frequently on the initiative of the employer and with financial support from him.

It was not until the year 1891 that voluntary sickness benefit work in Sweden became the subject of special legislation. The law then enacted was followed by a new Act in 1910, which in turn was replaced by the Sickness Funds Order of 1931.

The legal Position of Sickness Funds. By the legislation of 1931 regulating sickness funds, these funds have from a legal point of view been brought under the Benefit Societies Act of 1912, which

applied to all non-commercial mutual societies in the sphere of personal insurance with the exception of the societies for providing sickness benefit. By this Act, which thus now applies also to sickness funds, it is incumbent on all societies of the type in question to be registered provided the membership amounts to at least 50 or as regards pension funds to at least 5. A sickness fund registered in accordance with the Benefit Societies Act may by a completely voluntary decision on the part of the society be accepted as an *approved sickness fund*, which among other privileges entitles it to a State grant on principles laid down for the purpose. The conditions for acceptance are that the fund as regards organization and objects fulfils the requirements which it is considered should be imposed on a publicly supported social sick benefit activity, which requirements are set forth in a special Order on sickness funds. The account which follows applies, unless expressly stated otherwise, to the last-mentioned type of sickness funds.

Organization. Sickness fund activities in Sweden possess one peculiar feature in the matter of organization, namely, that they are conducted by two different kinds of societies: *local sickness funds* and *central sickness funds* (for the sake of brevity we shall hereinafter, as a rule, refer to them simply as *local funds* and *central funds*). It devolves upon these two types of organization jointly to conduct the State-aided activities connected with sickness benefit, but each organization as such performs its functions quite independently of the other and is responsible for its own obligations. Any person desirous of participating in State-aided sickness insurance benefits must in principle be a member of both a local and a central fund. Membership of a local fund only is not permitted. Membership of a central fund only is allowed, apart from certain towns, only in a district for which no local fund has been established.

One of the main differences between the local and the central funds as far as regards their external organization lies in the *sphere of their activities*. A local fund's area of activities shall comprise a commune (a town or rural commune); however, two or more adjacent communes may be combined to form the area of a single local fund, while in other cases one commune may be divided up into several such areas. It is generally required, however, — as for every ad-

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mission to an approved sickness fund — that the members in the area shall number at least 100. A central fund's sphere of activity shall comprise one or more provincial council areas or a town not participating in a provincial council. It is laid down as a general rule that only one approved sickness fund of each kind — i. e. one local and one central fund — may conduct operations within one and the same area. This has, *inter alia*, satisfied the demand for adequate uniformity in the external organization of the sickness insurance system.

Exceptions have however been permitted from the above-mentioned rules in the case of certain occupational and factory sick benefit societies, etc. that were in operation at the date of the passing of the new laws. Insofar as these societies have been accepted as approved local and central funds they are not bound by the regulations governing the demarcation of spheres of activity on the basis of the communal division, and they may also conduct operations in a locality irrespective of the fact that another approved sickness fund may have been established for that locality.

The essential difference between a local and a central fund lies, however, not so much in the dissimilarity of their spheres of activity as in the functions which each type of fund has to perform. A local fund's functions include that of undertaking insurance for medical aid as well as for hospital treatment and daily allowance for the first period — either 18 or (in the case of funds with a membership of at least 500) 90 days — of each case of sickness. It is further the duty of a local fund, upon request, to collect membership fees and to exercise supervision over the sick on behalf of the central fund, and in other ways also to assist the latter in its work. The primary function of the central fund is, in regard to so-called indirectly associated members, i. e. members who belong to local funds within the area, a) within certain limits to contribute towards their medical aid insurance and b) to be responsible for the insurance for hospital treatment and daily allowance after the 18th or 90th day, as the case may be. In the case of members who do not belong to a local fund — i. e. directly associated members — the central fund is responsible for the whole of their sickness insurance. Another of the central fund's duties is to administer maternity insurance and the relief associated therewith.

Membership of an Approved Sickness Fund. The right of admission to a local fund is possessed by any man or woman between the ages of 15 and 40 residing within the fund's sphere of activity, and who is in good health and does not suffer from any physical disability that causes or may reasonably be expected to cause a considerable reduction of working capacity or call for prolonged medical attention. The age of admission may be extended to 50 years by a clause in the rules of the fund. Admission to a central fund is permitted to any member of a local fund within the central fund's area (*indirectly associated member*), as well as — subject to the above reservation in regard to age and health — to any person resident in a locality within the said area for which no local fund has been established (*directly associated member*). It is stipulated as a condition of membership of a local fund that the person must also join the central fund at the same time.

As a rule membership implies admission into that local or central fund, as the case may be, which is established for the locality in which the member resides. If a member moves from the fund's area to another locality, whether within the country or abroad, he is deemed to have resigned his membership of the fund, but upon moving elsewhere within the country he is accepted as a member of the fund at the place to which he moves, being entitled to such sickness benefit as most nearly corresponds to that due to him in the former fund. If, however, at the time of moving, the member was entitled to benefit, his admission to the fund at his new place of residence — unless otherwise agreed between the funds — shall not take place until after the close of the month during which the moving member has recovered or the benefit period has expired.

By agreement with a foreign State the regulations governing a member's transfer from one fund to another may be extended to apply in the event of a change of residence between Sweden and the country in question.

Sickness Benefit. Sickness benefit from an approved sickness fund shall comprise, in the first place, compensation for the member's outlays on medical treatment (*medical benefit*) and, in the second place, relief in the form of a cash payment per day (*daily allowance*). As a rule, a member must be insured for both forms of benefit. Certain categories of members are however permitted to belong to the

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funds on terms entitling them to receive either the one or the other form of benefit only. Thus, anyone who does not earn his or her own livelihood, as also a married woman, is entitled to be insured for medical benefit only, and anyone who by reason of a law or a promise is entitled to receive medical treatment from another may be insured for the daily allowance only. No one whose assessment for State income and property tax exceeds 8,000 kronor may be insured for medical benefit.

Medical benefit is payable in the case of illness requiring medical aid and shall correspond to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the amount of the sick person's outlays for medical aid, including the doctor's travelling expenses if any. If the doctor's fees exceed the amount that would have been charged had they been calculated at a tariff rate fixed by the King for that purpose, the sum paid in medical benefit to the patient shall nevertheless amount to only $\frac{2}{3}$ of the latter amount. In the tariff is included, according to law, only such medical aid as can be provided by any certified medical practitioner.

If the patient's state of health requires treatment at a hospital, then instead of a contribution towards medical fees he shall be allowed a contribution towards *hospital treatment*, comprising compensation for the patient's admission into and care at the hospital. The fund is liable to pay such compensation in regard to treatment not only at a hospital that is run by the State, a provincial council or a commune or towards the running of which grants are made out of the public funds, but also at an approved private hospital. Further, treatment given to the patient through the instrumentality of the Pensions Board is deemed to be on a par with treatment at a hospital just referred to. The fund is not however liable to compensate for hospital treatment to a higher amount than would have been charged for the patient's admission and treatment in a public ward at a hospital run by the provincial council or the town in which the patient resides. If an approved sickness fund gives compensation for hospital treatment, it is entitled to reduce the patient's daily allowance during the period of treatment by an amount corresponding to the charges made for the treatment. If however the patient has a family or anyone else dependent on him for subsistence, only half the daily allowance at the most may be deducted in the manner aforesaid.

An approved sickness fund may grant medical benefit, besides to a member, to a member's minor children also, the age limit being

15. This so-called children's health insurance is voluntarily effected by a large number of funds. Another form of assistance which a sickness fund may voluntarily undertake is contributing towards the cost of medicine and such extra medical treatment as may be prescribed by a doctor.

A *daily allowance* is payable in every case of illness that involves loss of working capacity or necessitates the patient's having a doctor's orders to give up work altogether until he has recovered (*full* daily allowance). The rules of a sickness fund may provide that the fund shall grant the allowance even in cases of illness involving a reduction — though by at least $\frac{1}{4}$ — of the patient's capacity for work (*reduced* daily allowance). The full allowance shall be fixed in whole kronor increased by 50 öre, and every sickness fund shall afford members an opportunity of insuring at rates of at least 1, 2, 3 and 4 kr. An allowance above 6 kr. may not be granted.

Benefit Period. The benefit period for medical benefit is unlimited; for the daily allowance and compensation for hospital treatment, it is at least 2 years in the event of a consecutive period of ill-health. By a provision in the rules of the fund the benefit period can be extended beyond that stated, and the funds in a number of central fund areas have availed themselves of this privilege. Generally the benefit period is not extended beyond 3 years, though in one of the central funds it is unlimited.

Sickness benefit may not as a rule be granted in cases of illness that occur within 60 days after admission (*qualifying period*). The same regulation applies when a member has been allowed to transfer from a minor to a more comprehensive category of benefit. By a provision in the rules of the fund the qualifying period may be extended, though not beyond 120 days.

The daily allowance may not be granted in respect of the first three days of each case of illness (*waiting period*) nor for any period prior to the date of notification of the illness, unless it is obvious that the person concerned was prevented by circumstances beyond his control from having the case notified. By a provision of the rules of the fund the introduction of a waiting period longer than 3 days, though not beyond 7 days, is allowed. On the other hand, a fund is entitled to do away altogether with the waiting period

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in cases of illness that occur within 90 days after the last day for which the daily allowance was last paid out by the fund to the member who has fallen ill.

Maternity Benefit is granted by a central fund to a woman member who immediately before her confinement was a member of an approved sickness fund for an uninterrupted period of at least 270 days, and shall be payable partly in the form of compensation according to a fixed tariff for the attendance of a midwife (*midwife's attendance*) or for care in a maternity hospital (in a public ward), and partly in the form of *maternity allowance* corresponding to the amount of daily allowance for which the woman is insured. If she is not insured for daily allowance or is insured for such benefit to an amount below 2 kr., then maternity allowance shall be paid at the latter rate. Maternity allowance is payable for at least 30 and at the most 56 days. A woman who is prevented by the provisions of the Workers' Protection Act from resuming work before a certain period after her confinement and who had been engaged on such work for a certain period before her confinement receives maternity allowance for at least 42 days. In order that maternity allowance may be paid out it is required that the woman shall abstain from engaging in paid employment during the benefit period.

The Riksdag of 1937 decided on the reorganization of maternity insurance, so that henceforth the cash benefit — maternity allowance — shall consist of a lump-sum payment amounting to a minimum of 110 kronor. In addition, the funds have been exempted from liability to grant compensation for the cost of a midwife's attendance and for treatment at a maternity hospital, this being due to the fact that in the former case the entire, and in the latter case the greater part of the costs of care and attendance are henceforth to be defrayed out of public funds.

State Maternity Relief. In pursuance of an Order on maternity relief passed at the same time as that on approved sickness funds, these funds are entrusted with the duty of disbursing to mothers a form of relief that is provided entirely by the State and is therefore not included in the insurance benefits of the funds. The relief is payable to any woman who is in need thereof in order to lighten the costs incurred in her confinement and who as a member

of an approved sickness fund is not entitled to receive maternity benefit. The means test is of a summary nature, and the need of relief shall as a rule be deemed to exist if the woman's, or, if she is married, the husband's and wife's combined assessment for State income and property taxes does not amount to at least 500 kr. The period of relief lasts for 30 days, and the relief is payable at the rate of 1 kr. per day, i. e. 30 kr. in all, from which however is deducted a "registration fee" of 2 kr. payable at the time of application. In the case, however, of a woman who is prevented by the Workers' Protection Act from doing work for a certain period before and after her confinement, the period of relief is 56 days. A condition for the payment of maternity relief is that the woman must abstain from engaging in paid employment during the period.

In conjunction with the above amendment of maternity insurance the Riksdag of 1937 decided to amend the principles governing the payment of State maternity relief, such relief being fixed at 75 kronor payable as a lump-sum contribution to meet the costs of confinement, such as travelling expenses and hospital treatment. The limit of income below which the need for relief is presumed to exist has been raised to a taxable amount of 3,000 kronor, which implies that henceforth only 8 % of all mothers will not be qualified to receive relief. On the present basis of contribution the corresponding percentage is 26 %.

Funeral Benefit or any kind of relief other than sickness benefit and maternity benefit in such form as the Sickness Funds Order prescribes may not be granted by the approved sickness funds.

Aid in relation to other Forms of Social Insurance, etc.
In regard to a member of a sickness fund who in the event of illness is entitled by law or by a decree or in virtue of an undertaking to receive compensation or aid not in the nature of poor relief, an approved sickness fund is entitled to stipulate in its rules that benefit will then not be payable by the fund or that the right thereto shall be restricted to a certain extent. Nevertheless, the right to limit the two years' benefit period prescribed in regard to the daily allowance may not be exercised merely on account of the fact that the sick person is entitled to a pension or relief in accordance with the General Pensions Insurance Act.

IV. Social Insurance.

1. Accident Insurance.

History. Apart from certain special ordinances, early Swedish legislation did not contain any other provisions as to the employer's liability to compensate workers injured during their employment than could be found in common law concerning general liability for damages. The first step towards legislation more in conformity with the demands of the time was taken in 1884, when the Riksdag made representations to the Government. The result was the appointment of a Workmen's Insurance Committee, which, *inter alia*, worked out a proposal for compulsory accident insurance for workers in industry, land transport, and shipping. But this proposal was not accepted by the Riksdag, nor were a couple of other proposals aiming at compulsory accident and invalidity insurance brought forward by a New Workmen's Insurance Committee in the 1890's.

After these unsuccessful attempts to introduce compulsory insurance, efforts were directed towards promoting legislation for direct liability for compensation, and in 1901 the Riksdag passed an Act concerning compensation for accidents during employment. The Act was promulgated on 5th July 1901 and came into operation on 1st January 1903. It lays down the employer's liability to pay compensation throughout practically the entire range of industry, including lumbering and mining, and also in connection with the loading and unloading of goods, and in connection with railway and tramway traffic. On the other hand, the Act did *not* apply to agriculture, handicrafts, commerce, or shipping. Compensation was paid at a certain fixed rate irrespective of the earnings of the workman and became due from the 61st day after the accident. The Act prescribed the establishment of a *State Insurance Institution* (see p. 37), in which employers could take out insurance and thus cover their liability. The State Insurance Institution, which had to compete with private insurance companies, began its activities on 1st September 1902; it was afterwards granted the right to cover insurance for the first 60 days after the accident also and for accidents outside employment.

However, the necessity for a thorough revision of the law soon made itself felt, so that its scope should be extended, insurance made compulsory, etc. The question was referred to an Old Age Pensions Committee, appointed in 1907, which in 1915 recommended a scheme based on the duty of the employer to insure either with the State Insurance Institution or with the mutual accident insurance companies founded by the employers, and covering practically everyone who worked for remuneration on behalf of another person. With certain alterations this scheme was accepted by the Riksdag, and accordingly the Industrial Accident Insurance Act now in force was passed on 17th June 1916 and became operative on 1st January 1918. The Act has repeatedly been amended and in its present shape may be regarded as better than the majority of modern laws on the subject in other countries. Sweden has also ratified the conventions adopted at the International Labour Conference in 1925 concerning workmen's compensation for accidents and occupational diseases and equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents.

The Act of 17th June, 1916, is in its present form substantially of the following purport.

General Regulations. Every person is insured who in return for wages executes work for another's account and who in relation to him cannot be considered an independent contractor, also every person who while learning a trade executes such work. Students at certain institutions specified by the Government for teaching trades and departments of such institutions are deemed employed workers under the Act, even though they may not be working in the employ of another (Royal Decree of December 1933, which came into force 1st January 1934). Exceptions are: those who perform the work in their homes or at a place which they themselves determine, and anyone who is casually employed by a person who does not otherwise employ labour. The rule of exemption also applies where the work is carried out on behalf of only one employer by his wife, his children living at home, and his parents.

Industrial accidents are deemed to include accidents during the journey to or from the place of work, where the journey is occasioned by or immediately connected with the employment.

Insurance is effected either with the State Insurance Institution or a

mutual accident insurance company established for the purpose by the employers with unlimited liability for the shareholders. If the insurance is not taken out in such a company, it is considered to be in force automatically, without application or other steps, with the State Insurance Institution.

Compensation. In the case of sickness caused by accident¹ the injured worker receives, from the day of the accident inclusive, and for so long as the sickness lasts, *firstly* medical treatment, medicine and any necessary artificial appliances, etc., and *secondly* — provided the sickness lasts more than 3 days, excluding the day of the accident — as from the day following that of the accident and so long as the sickness continues, a daily allowance, consisting in case of loss of capacity for work, of a fixed amount based on his annual earnings, reckoned as follows: in the case of earnings up to 675 kronor per annum, 1 krona; between 675—944 kronor, 1 krona 50 öre; and so on up to annual earnings of 2,835 kronor or more, 5 kronor 50 öre; in the case of a reduction of the capacity for work a smaller amount is paid proportionate to the reduction. The daily allowance is not paid if the capacity for work has not been reduced by at least a quarter.

After the state of sickness has ceased, any possible invalidity remaining is compensated for by an annuity corresponding, in case of loss of working capacity, to two-thirds of the annual earnings of the injured person, and in the case of reduction of working capacity, to a lower amount proportionate to the reduction, with a bonus corresponding to the probable annual cost of renewing any artificial appliance. In the event of loss of capacity for work when the condition of the injured person calls for special treatment, the annuity may be fixed at a higher rate than two-thirds of, but not at an amount exceeding, his annual earnings. No annuity is granted if the reduction of capacity for work is less than one-tenth. Compensation is granted

¹ As from 1937 injuries are also considered as due to accident caused during a few days at the most either mechanically by the effect of the work, such as galls, blisters, inflammation of the tendon-sheath or by temperature conditions during work, if the injury consists of heat stroke, sunstroke or frostbite, or by certain irritant or corrosive materials used in the work but not mentioned in the Act relating to insurance against certain occupational diseases, such as sulphuric acid, nitric acid, lime or calcium nitrate or mixtures containing such substances; in these cases the date of the accident shall be deemed to be the day on which the injury manifested itself.

for treatment such as massage, etc. which may be necessary for increasing the capacity for work.

If death supervenes on the accident, compensation shall be given as follows: a funeral benefit of one-tenth of the annual earnings of the deceased, with a minimum of 100 kronor, and annuities to the surviving dependants, i. e. to the widow or widower an annual amount corresponding to a fourth of the annual earnings of the deceased; to each child up to the age of 16 an amount corresponding to a sixth of the earnings; to the deceased's parents, in the event of their having been chiefly dependent on him, an annuity corresponding to the value of the support they received from him, but with a maximum of a fourth of his earnings.

In the event of the total annuities to his surviving dependents exceeding two-thirds of the annual earnings of the deceased, they shall be reduced so that together they only reach the said two-thirds. It should here be observed that annuities to wife (or husband) and children shall be paid prior to annuities to parents.

The annuity shall not be granted to a widower unless he has been dependent on the work of the deceased for his support, and may not be given if the widower has substantially neglected his duty to maintain his wife and children. In the last-mentioned case the annuity may be paid to the children of the deceased. To a widow or widower in receipt of an annuity who remarries before the age of 60 is granted a lump-sum corresponding to three-quarters of the annual earnings of the deceased.

In estimating an injury, account must be taken of its effects on the special skill which the occupation of the injured person may demand and of the age and sex of the injured person as well as of any previous physical injury or disability.

If the annual earnings exceed 3,000 kronor, they shall be reckoned at that amount, and if they are under 450 kronor at the latter amount.

If the injured person has been received into a nursing institution, the insurance institution may deduct at most half the daily allowance paid during the stay in hospital to cover the cost of treatment there.

The Insurance Premiums. Insurance premiums are fixed at the amount which, calculated on an actuarial basis, is considered to cover the particular risks, consideration being paid to the dangers

Accident Insurance

of the occupation generally and to the special conditions under which it is carried on. As a contribution towards the expenses of the Insurance Council (the appellate authority, see below) and the State Insurance Institution, for every policy taken out with the State Insurance Institution an amount corresponding to 5 % of the insurance premium shall be paid to the State. Insurance companies coming under the Act pay for the same purposes 3 % of the amount of the insurance premiums. The other expenses of the above-mentioned State institutions are met out of State funds.

If the employer undertakes personally, either wholly or in part, to pay compensation in the case of accidents, he may — usually against the deposit of security approved of by the insurance institution — be exempted from paying the insurance premium or pay at a lower rate (termed personal risk). But the above-mentioned contribution to the expenses of administration must always be paid. The State and certain municipalities undertake personal risk, naturally without depositing security.

The employer is liable to give both the Insurance Council and the State Insurance Institution (when insuring with same) all information required for fixing the amount of insurance premium or compensation. The said institutions may for the same purpose examine the employer's pay-sheets and lists, and demand from the proper authority, or themselves make, an investigation of the conditions under which the work is carried on.

The insurance premiums collected by the State Insurance Institution go to form a fund, which is administered in accordance with definite principles laid down by the State. Any premiums not paid are advanced by the State and recovered in the same way as arrears of taxes.

Notifying and Investigating Accidents. If a workman is injured as the result of an accident in the course of his employment, the employer or the works manager shall immediately be informed. A written report must be made by the employer or the works manager to the insurance institution, accompanied by a doctor's certificate. A police investigation may be demanded, and witnesses or experts may be heard before a public court.

Special Regulations. An accident wilfully caused by the injured

person or those surviving him may not be the basis of a claim for compensation. If the accident was caused because the injured person did not observe the regulations in force or the directions as to measures for the prevention of accidents, and if the circumstances are such that he must be considered to have been guilty of gross carelessness, or if the accident was caused by the injured person having been under the influence of strong drink, the compensation payable to him may be reasonably reduced.

As regards a foreigner who is not domiciled in Sweden, there are certain restrictions, which may, however, be set aside by conventions with foreign states. A convention may also be entered into regarding the application of the Swedish Industrial Accident Insurance Act or that of the foreign State, in cases in which the employer in one State carries on in the other activities in which workers are employed.

Appeal. Appeals from decisions concerning compensation or the application of the Act may be made to the *Insurance Council*, a State Court consisting of ten members, of whom 2 represent the employers and 2 the workers. The Council has the right to take up cases for inquiry on its own initiative. Appeal may not be made from the Council's decisions, which are given free of costs.

Penalties. It is enacted that failure to notify accidents or to give any information required is punishable by fines. For deliberately furnishing incorrect information fines from 25 to 1,000 kronor may be imposed. Fines imposed under the Act go to the above-mentioned fund.

Voluntary Accident Insurance. Employers are entitled to insure against industrial accident other workers than those covered by the Act (e. g. children at home and parents) and also workers insured under the Act to cover accidents incurred outside work.

Special Provisions respecting Compensation for Occupational Diseases. According to the provisions of a special Act of 14th June 1929, with later amendments, every person who in conformity with the Industrial Accident Insurance Act is insured against injury resulting from accidents during employment must likewise be insured against occupational disease wholly or mainly caused by the action of arsenic or its compounds, lead, its alloys or compounds,

mercury, its amalgams and compounds, phosphorus or its compounds, stone dust, radiant heat or light, X-rays or radium, anthrax infection.

As from 1937 the said Act includes occupational diseases produced wholly or mainly by the action of benzene or any of its homologues (such as toluene or xylene) or any of their nitro or amido derivatives (such as nitrobenzene or trinitrotoluene, aniline or paraphenylenediamine), halogen derivatives of hydrocarbons of the aliphatic series (such as chloroform or trichlorethylene), carbon monoxide, cyanogen or its compounds, chlorine, hypochlorite or chloride of lime, chloramine, nitrous gases, chromic acid or any compound thereof, and radioactive substances. Further shall be deemed occupational diseases the diseases listed below when wholly or mainly produced by the insured person's work, *viz.*: infectious diseases referred to in § 2 of the Infectious Diseases Act of 19th June 1919 or respecting which ordinances have been issued in conformity with § 24 of the said Act, provided the occupation consists of professional instruction or of nursing or midwifery or comprises medical research in a laboratory subjected to public inspection, as also primary cancer of the skin.

In respect of insurance regarding such occupational diseases the provisions of the Accident Insurance Act shall apply where relevant, subject however to the observance of the special regulations issued under the Occupational Diseases Insurance Act.

It should be noted that even if an occupational disease be wholly or mainly produced by the action of any of the above-mentioned products, it does not in every instance entitle the person to compensation under the Act. There is the further requirement that the worker shall within a certain period prior to the appearance of the disease have been employed on work in which the workers are exposed to action of the kind which produced the disease. This period in respect of diseases produced by the action of X-rays or radium, and as from 1937 in respect of radioactive products and stone dust, has been fixed at 10 years, while as regards other occupational diseases it is fixed at 1 year.

In reference to the right to compensation in respect of occupational disease this is subject to 2 years' prescription. The sick person therefore has lost his right to compensation if within 2 years from the date of the appearance of the disease¹ information has not been given

¹ As from 1937 likewise within 2 years from the later date on which the worker obtained knowledge of the nature of the disease.

in conformity with § 20 of the Accident Insurance Act to the employer or works manager or claim for compensation made to the State Insurance Institution or to the Insurance Council or, if an insurance company is liable to pay the compensation, to the State Insurance Institution, Insurance Council or insurance company. As to compensation to the survivors of a worker who has died as a result of occupational disease, the Act lays down that such compensation shall not be paid unless the death occurred within 2 years from the date of the appearance¹ of the disease and, further, unless information concerning the disease has been given or claim for compensation made in the manner stated above within 2 years of the date of death.

The State Insurance Institution has likewise to deal with a number of matters other than those which arise from the Act of 1916. These include payment of annuities still outstanding under the Act of 1901, handling questions relating to a special State-supported accident insurance for fishermen, payment of compensation for injuries (including illness) sustained during military service, and compensation for accidents occasioned by the conditions during the World War. Annuities for children born out of wedlock as well as annuities payable in connection with traffic insurance by Swedish insurance companies not entitled to retain liability for annuities, or by foreign companies, may be purchased from the State Insurance Institution. Moreover the Institution undertakes life assurance in conjunction with loans for the purchase of houses under the "own home" system. The Institution has to issue an annual report and in addition publishes an annual statistical summary of all industrial accidents occurring in the Kingdom.

Of great importance to social accident insurance are the Northern Countries' Workmen's Insurance Meetings, held as a rule every 4th year, at which representatives of the Northern countries' social insurance institutions discuss questions primarily connected with social accident insurance. The lectures and discussions held at these meetings are published in book form and are valuable sources to those who wish to obtain further information as to how these questions are regarded in the North. The most recent of these meetings, the eighth, was held at Copenhagen in 1935.

¹ As from 1937 likewise within 2 years from the later date on which the worker obtained knowledge of the nature of the disease.

2. Sickness Benefit Funds.

History. As is the case in several other countries, sickness funds are able to boast of ancient lineage in Sweden. Their first prototypes may thus be traced back to the mediæval guilds and livery companies. A considerable number of the sickness benefit societies thus originated continued to exist, although under changed conditions, even after the introduction of industrial liberty (1864). In all essentials the present day Swedish sickness fund movement is, however, a creation of modern times. The movement received its first impetus in the late 'seventies through the then numerous so-called *One Hundred Men* and *Thousand Men Societies*, as well as through the various *Orders* and *Clubs* which flourished greatly at the same time, particularly in Stockholm and other large cities. Of still greater importance for the work of the sickness funds were, however, the strong social popular movements — especially the temperance and trade union movements — which towards the end of the 1880's made their appearance particularly amongst manual workers and the like, and which had on their programmes also sick benefit and other similar relief activities. As a proper appreciation of the importance of the work of the sickness funds grew, they began to appear in larger and larger numbers, being formed for the sole purpose of granting sickness benefit, and having no connection with other objects. By far the greater number of the sickness funds active at the present time are of this type. The growth of industry has naturally contributed in several ways towards the development of the sickness funds movement; *inter alia*, a large number of so-called employers' (factory) sick benefit clubs have by this means been brought into existence, frequently on the initiative of the employer and with financial support from him.

It was not until the year 1891 that voluntary sickness benefit work in Sweden became the subject of special legislation. The law then enacted was followed by a new Act in 1910, which in turn was replaced by the Sickness Funds Order of 1931.

The legal Position of Sickness Funds. By the legislation of 1931 regulating sickness funds, these funds have from a legal point of view been brought under the Benefit Societies Act of 1912. which

applied to all non-commercial mutual societies in the sphere of personal insurance with the exception of the societies for providing sickness benefit. By this Act, which thus now applies also to sickness funds, it is incumbent on all societies of the type in question to be registered provided the membership amounts to at least 50 or as regards pension funds to at least 5. A sickness fund registered in accordance with the Benefit Societies Act may by a completely voluntary decision on the part of the society be accepted as an *approved sickness fund*, which among other privileges entitles it to a State grant on principles laid down for the purpose. The conditions for acceptance are that the fund as regards organization and objects fulfils the requirements which it is considered should be imposed on a publicly supported social sick benefit activity, which requirements are set forth in a special Order on sickness funds. The account which follows applies, unless expressly stated otherwise, to the last-mentioned type of sickness funds.

Organization. Sickness fund activities in Sweden possess one peculiar feature in the matter of organization, namely, that they are conducted by two different kinds of societies: *local sickness funds* and *central sickness funds* (for the sake of brevity we shall hereinafter, as a rule, refer to them simply as *local funds* and *central funds*). It devolves upon these two types of organization jointly to conduct the State-aided activities connected with sickness benefit, but each organization as such performs its functions quite independently of the other and is responsible for its own obligations. Any person desirous of participating in State-aided sickness insurance benefits must in principle be a member of both a local and a central fund. Membership of a local fund only is not permitted. Membership of a central fund only is allowed, apart from certain towns, only in a district for which no local fund has been established.

One of the main differences between the local and the central funds as far as regards their external organization lies in the *sphere of their activities*. A local fund's area of activities shall comprise a commune (a town or rural commune); however, two or more adjacent communes may be combined to form the area of a single local fund, while in other cases one commune may be divided up into several such areas. It is generally required, however, — as for every ad-

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mission to an approved sickness fund — that the members in the area shall number at least 100. A central fund's sphere of activity shall comprise one or more provincial council areas or a town not participating in a provincial council. It is laid down as a general rule that only one approved sickness fund of each kind — i. e. one local and one central fund — may conduct operations within one and the same area. This has, *inter alia*, satisfied the demand for adequate uniformity in the external organization of the sickness insurance system.

Exceptions have however been permitted from the above-mentioned rules in the case of certain occupational and factory sick benefit societies, etc. that were in operation at the date of the passing of the new laws. Insofar as these societies have been accepted as approved local and central funds they are not bound by the regulations governing the demarcation of spheres of activity on the basis of the communal division, and they may also conduct operations in a locality irrespective of the fact that another approved sickness fund may have been established for that locality.

The essential difference between a local and a central fund lies, however, not so much in the dissimilarity of their spheres of activity as in the functions which each type of fund has to perform. A local fund's functions include that of undertaking insurance for medical aid as well as for hospital treatment and daily allowance for the first period — either 18 or (in the case of funds with a membership of at least 500) 90 days — of each case of sickness. It is further the duty of a local fund, upon request, to collect membership fees and to exercise supervision over the sick on behalf of the central fund, and in other ways also to assist the latter in its work. The primary function of the central fund is, in regard to so-called indirectly associated members, i. e. members who belong to local funds within the area, a) within certain limits to contribute towards their medical aid insurance and b) to be responsible for the insurance for hospital treatment and daily allowance after the 18th or 90th day, as the case may be. In the case of members who do not belong to a local fund — i. e. directly associated members — the central fund is responsible for the whole of their sickness insurance. Another of the central fund's duties is to administer maternity insurance and the relief associated therewith.

Membership of an Approved Sickness Fund. The right of admission to a local fund is possessed by any man or woman between the ages of 15 and 40 residing within the fund's sphere of activity, and who is in good health and does not suffer from any physical disability that causes or may reasonably be expected to cause a considerable reduction of working capacity or call for prolonged medical attention. The age of admission may be extended to 50 years by a clause in the rules of the fund. Admission to a central fund is permitted to any member of a local fund within the central fund's area (*indirectly associated member*), as well as — subject to the above reservation in regard to age and health — to any person resident in a locality within the said area for which no local fund has been established (*directly associated member*). It is stipulated as a condition of membership of a local fund that the person must also join the central fund at the same time.

As a rule membership implies admission into that local or central fund, as the case may be, which is established for the locality in which the member resides. If a member moves from the fund's area to another locality, whether within the country or abroad, he is deemed to have resigned his membership of the fund, but upon moving elsewhere within the country he is accepted as a member of the fund at the place to which he moves, being entitled to such sickness benefit as most nearly corresponds to that due to him in the former fund. If, however, at the time of moving, the member was entitled to benefit, his admission to the fund at his new place of residence — unless otherwise agreed between the funds — shall not take place until after the close of the month during which the moving member has recovered or the benefit period has expired.

By agreement with a foreign State the regulations governing a member's transfer from one fund to another may be extended to apply in the event of a change of residence between Sweden and the country in question.

Sickness Benefit. Sickness benefit from an approved sickness fund shall comprise, in the first place, compensation for the member's outlays on medical treatment (*medical benefit*) and, in the second place, relief in the form of a cash payment per day (*daily allowance*). As a rule, a member must be insured for both forms of benefit. Certain categories of members are however permitted to belong to the

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funds on terms entitling them to receive either the one or the other form of benefit only. Thus, anyone who does not earn his or her own livelihood, as also a married woman, is entitled to be insured for medical benefit only, and anyone who by reason of a law or a promise is entitled to receive medical treatment from another may be insured for the daily allowance only. No one whose assessment for State income and property tax exceeds 8,000 kronor may be insured for medical benefit.

Medical benefit is payable in the case of illness requiring medical aid and shall correspond to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the amount of the sick person's outlays for medical aid, including the doctor's travelling expenses if any. If the doctor's fees exceed the amount that would have been charged had they been calculated at a tariff rate fixed by the King for that purpose, the sum paid in medical benefit to the patient shall nevertheless amount to only $\frac{2}{3}$ of the latter amount. In the tariff is included, according to law, only such medical aid as can be provided by any certified medical practitioner.

If the patient's state of health requires treatment at a hospital, then instead of a contribution towards medical fees he shall be allowed a contribution towards *hospital treatment*, comprising compensation for the patient's admission into and care at the hospital. The fund is liable to pay such compensation in regard to treatment not only at a hospital that is run by the State, a provincial council or a commune or towards the running of which grants are made out of the public funds, but also at an approved private hospital. Further, treatment given to the patient through the instrumentality of the Pensions Board is deemed to be on a par with treatment at a hospital just referred to. The fund is not however liable to compensate for hospital treatment to a higher amount than would have been charged for the patient's admission and treatment in a public ward at a hospital run by the provincial council or the town in which the patient resides. If an approved sickness fund gives compensation for hospital treatment, it is entitled to reduce the patient's daily allowance during the period of treatment by an amount corresponding to the charges made for the treatment. If however the patient has a family or anyone else dependent on him for subsistence, only half the daily allowance at the most may be deducted in the manner aforesaid.

An approved sickness fund may grant medical benefit, besides to a member, to a member's minor children also, the age limit being

15. This so-called children's health insurance is voluntarily effected by a large number of funds. Another form of assistance which a sickness fund may voluntarily undertake is contributing towards the cost of medicine and such extra medical treatment as may be prescribed by a doctor.

A *daily allowance* is payable in every case of illness that involves loss of working capacity or necessitates the patient's having a doctor's orders to give up work altogether until he has recovered (*full* daily allowance). The rules of a sickness fund may provide that the fund shall grant the allowance even in cases of illness involving a reduction — though by at least $\frac{1}{4}$ — of the patient's capacity for work (*reduced* daily allowance). The full allowance shall be fixed in whole kronor increased by 50 öre, and every sickness fund shall afford members an opportunity of insuring at rates of at least 1, 2, 3 and 4 kr. An allowance above 6 kr. may not be granted.

Benefit Period. The benefit period for medical benefit is unlimited; for the daily allowance and compensation for hospital treatment, it is at least 2 years in the event of a consecutive period of ill-health. By a provision in the rules of the fund the benefit period can be extended beyond that stated, and the funds in a number of central fund areas have availed themselves of this privilege. Generally the benefit period is not extended beyond 3 years, though in one of the central funds it is unlimited.

Sickness benefit may not as a rule be granted in cases of illness that occur within 60 days after admission (*qualifying period*). The same regulation applies when a member has been allowed to transfer from a minor to a more comprehensive category of benefit. By a provision in the rules of the fund the qualifying period may be extended, though not beyond 120 days.

The daily allowance may not be granted in respect of the first three days of each case of illness (*waiting period*) nor for any period prior to the date of notification of the illness, unless it is obvious that the person concerned was prevented by circumstances beyond his control from having the case notified. By a provision of the rules of the fund the introduction of a waiting period longer than 3 days, though not beyond 7 days, is allowed. On the other hand, a fund is entitled to do away altogether with the waiting period

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in cases of illness that occur within 90 days after the last day for which the daily allowance was last paid out by the fund to the member who has fallen ill.

Maternity Benefit is granted by a central fund to a woman member who immediately before her confinement was a member of an approved sickness fund for an uninterrupted period of at least 270 days, and shall be payable partly in the form of compensation according to a fixed tariff for the attendance of a midwife (*midwife's attendance*) or for care in a maternity hospital (in a public ward), and partly in the form of *maternity allowance* corresponding to the amount of daily allowance for which the woman is insured. If she is not insured for daily allowance or is insured for such benefit to an amount below 2 kr., then maternity allowance shall be paid at the latter rate. Maternity allowance is payable for at least 30 and at the most 56 days. A woman who is prevented by the provisions of the Workers' Protection Act from resuming work before a certain period after her confinement and who had been engaged on such work for a certain period before her confinement receives maternity allowance for at least 42 days. In order that maternity allowance may be paid out it is required that the woman shall abstain from engaging in paid employment during the benefit period.

The Riksdag of 1937 decided on the reorganization of maternity insurance, so that henceforth the cash benefit — maternity allowance — shall consist of a lump-sum payment amounting to a minimum of 110 kronor. In addition, the funds have been exempted from liability to grant compensation for the cost of a midwife's attendance and for treatment at a maternity hospital, this being due to the fact that in the former case the entire, and in the latter case the greater part of the costs of care and attendance are henceforth to be defrayed out of public funds.

State Maternity Relief. In pursuance of an Order on maternity relief passed at the same time as that on approved sickness funds, these funds are entrusted with the duty of disbursing to mothers a form of relief that is provided entirely by the State and is therefore not included in the insurance benefits of the funds. The relief is payable to any woman who is in need thereof in order to lighten the costs incurred in her confinement and who as a member

of an approved sickness fund is not entitled to receive maternity benefit. The means test is of a summary nature, and the need of relief shall as a rule be deemed to exist if the woman's, or, if she is married, the husband's and wife's combined assessment for State income and property taxes does not amount to at least 500 kr. The period of relief lasts for 30 days, and the relief is payable at the rate of 1 kr. per day, i. e. 30 kr. in all, from which however is deducted a "registration fee" of 2 kr. payable at the time of application. In the case, however, of a woman who is prevented by the Workers' Protection Act from doing work for a certain period before and after her confinement, the period of relief is 56 days. A condition for the payment of maternity relief is that the woman must abstain from engaging in paid employment during the period.

In conjunction with the above amendment of maternity insurance the Riksdag of 1937 decided to amend the principles governing the payment of State maternity relief, such relief being fixed at 75 kronor payable as a lump-sum contribution to meet the costs of confinement, such as travelling expenses and hospital treatment. The limit of income below which the need for relief is presumed to exist has been raised to a taxable amount of 3,000 kronor, which implies that henceforth only 8 % of all mothers will not be qualified to receive relief. On the present basis of contribution the corresponding percentage is 26 %.

Funeral Benefit or any kind of relief other than sickness benefit and maternity benefit in such form as the Sickness Funds Order prescribes may not be granted by the approved sickness funds.

Aid in relation to other Forms of Social Insurance, etc. In regard to a member of a sickness fund who in the event of illness is entitled by law or by a decree or in virtue of an undertaking to receive compensation or aid not in the nature of poor relief, an approved sickness fund is entitled to stipulate in its rules that benefit will then not be payable by the fund or that the right thereto shall be restricted to a certain extent. Nevertheless, the right to limit the two years' benefit period prescribed in regard to the daily allowance may not be exercised merely on account of the fact that the sick person is entitled to a pension or relief in accordance with the General Pensions Insurance Act.

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In the case of illness for which compensation is payable in virtue of a) the laws relating to insurance against accident during work and to insurance against certain occupational diseases or b) regulations in force concerning compensation for bodily injury contracted in the course of military service, the amount paid in the form of daily allowance may not exceed that by which the allowance exceeds the daily compensation to which the sick person is entitled by the said laws or regulations.

Fees and the Creation of Reserve Funds. To enable it to carry on its activities an approved sickness fund shall levy fixed contributions calculated on such a basis that, in combination with other items of income — State and, possibly, communal grants, interest, etc., — they may be presumed to suffice for covering the fund's expenditure as well as for the creation of an adequate reserve fund.

The contributions a member has to pay for full insurance — comprising daily allowance (plus compensation for the cost of hospital treatment) during a minimum period of 2 years, as well as compensation for medical aid for an unlimited period, also maternity benefit — generally amount to the following sums, according to the size of the daily allowance:

<i>Daily allowance</i>	kr. 1.—, 1.50, 2.—, 3.—, 4.—, 5.—, 6.—
<i>Contribution per month</i>	kr. 1.—, 1.70, 2.15, 3.40, 4.70, 5.95, 7.25

In the case of insurance for daily allowance alone, the contribution is 0.25 kronor per month lower. For insurance for medical aid alone the usual contribution is 0.35—0.40 kronor a month, which is increased by 0.10—0.15 kronor if the medical benefit likewise covers the member's children under 15 years of age.

Any surplus from the activities of the fund shall be placed in its entirety to the sickness benefit reserve. If this amounts to a sum corresponding to $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the total of the fixed contributions paid on an average for the past three years, or such upper limit as the rules may prescribe in that respect, the fund may request the supervising authority for permission to cease transferring money to the reserve for the time being and to use the surplus for purposes which are specified in the regulations.

Social Insurance

Every fifth year the central funds shall institute an actuarial inquiry into the position of the fund in accordance with principles laid down by the supervising authority.

Fund Meetings, Committee, etc. A member's right to participate in administering the affairs of the fund may be exercised at a meeting of the fund. In a central fund, as well as in a local fund which has more than 1,000 members, decisions are taken by a meeting of the fund, though not by the members direct but by delegates whom the members shall appoint. On the committee of a fund the supervising authority and the Medical and Health Board are entitled upon the recommendation of the fund to appoint one member each. The member appointed by the Medical Board shall, if possible, be a doctor with knowledge and experience of health insurance questions. The supervising authority appoints in addition one of the auditors of each central fund. The central fund appoints an auditor for each of the local funds within its area.

Collaboration with other Forms of Social Insurance or Relief Activities. An approved sickness fund is liable within its own area and for a reasonable fee to assist in carrying on any other State social insurance or relief work, even insofar as it affects persons other than members of the fund. One of the functions thus imposed upon the sickness funds is that of dispensing the above-mentioned State maternity relief and of dealing with questions in connection therewith.

The Supervising Authority. The sickness funds are subject to State supervision, which has so far been exercised by the Social Board. According to a decision of the Riksdag of 1937, however, the supervision will as from the 1st January 1938 be in the hands of the Pensions Board. For this purpose there has been set up in the Government office concerned a special bureau for sickness funds. Supervision over the funds comprises the registration and acceptance of approved sickness funds, exercising supervision and control over their activities, as well as, when required, giving instructions to have any necessary adjustments effected, or annulling the acceptance of an approved fund. Further, it is incumbent upon the supervising authority to give advice and information on questions relating to sickness

funds, to make decisions on certain questions that the law requires shall be referred to it for settlement or which require its sanction, and to calculate and pay out the State subsidy.

State Subsidy. Acceptance as an approved sickness fund carries the right to a State subsidy, which is payable to each fund, in proportion partly to the number of members of the fund (*membership subsidy*) and partly to the amount expended on sickness and maternity benefit (*daily allowance subsidy, medical aid subsidy, maternity subsidy and midwifery subsidy*).

The membership subsidy to a local as well as to a central fund generally amounts to 1 kr. 50 öre per member. For a person who is an indirectly associated member and who is not insured for daily allowance, the amount is only 1 kr. to each fund. On the other hand, for persons who are directly associated members of a central fund, the fund receives 2 kr. per member not insured for daily allowance and 3 kr. per any other member.

The daily allowance subsidy is as a rule 50 öre for each day for which daily allowance has been paid up to at least 1 kr. or compensation has been granted for hospital treatment. No subsidy however is payable in respect of any day on which a member has received compensation in accordance with the Act relating to insurance against accident in the course of work or the Act relating to insurance against certain occupational diseases, or on which a member who is permanently employed and fully engaged in Government service has by reason of that employment been in receipt of salary or other remuneration to the extent of at least 1 kr. The subsidy is not payable in respect of any benefit period in excess of 3 years for every consecutive period of ill-health.

The medical aid subsidy generally amounts to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the corresponding outlays of the fund, but its combined total for all approved funds within a central fund area may not exceed 3 kr. or, when a member's children under 15 years of age also receive medical aid, 4 kr. for every member who is insured for such benefit. With regard to members who are resident within the four northernmost provinces, however, the maximum amounts are instead 5 and 6 kr. respectively per member. When the maximum subsidy is being assessed it shall

not include medical aid subsidy in respect of the cost of admission to hospital.

The amount of the maternity subsidy, which at present is generally 1 kr. for every day for which maternity allowance has been paid to the extent of at least 2 kr. or for which compensation has been allowed to cover the cost of treatment at a maternity hospital, has been raised by resolution of the 1937 Riksdag to a lump-sum of 75 kronor for every case of confinement for which maternity aid has been allowed by the fund. The amount of the *midwifery subsidy* is $\frac{1}{2}$ of what the fund has paid as compensation for the cost of a midwife's services according to the current tariff. The above-mentioned resolution of the Riksdag requires that the midwifery subsidy shall no longer be payable after the close of 1937.

The State subsidy per member for the whole country at present amounts on an average

when the insurance covers both daily allowance

and medical attendance to about Kr. 12.85

when the insurance covers daily allowance only „ „ „ 10.75

when the insurance covers medical attendance

only „ „ „ 4.65

These amounts include also the State subsidy for maternity aid.

No rate of *communal subsidy* to the sickness funds has been specified by law, though quite a number of communes, particularly towns, have given voluntary financial support to the movement. This applies particularly to the larger towns, which frequently make relatively large municipal subsidies. In Stockholm, for instance, a subsidy of this kind is paid at the rate of 3 kr. per member per annum, and in addition, from the beginning of 1937, to the extent of 20 % of the fund's expenditure on compensation for hospital attendance. In Gothenburg the municipal contribution is 4 kr., and in Malmö 3 kr. per member per annum, and so on.

The State-aided Sickness Fund Movement at the Beginning of 1936. As will have been seen from the above, the central funds are to be regarded as the very backbone of the Swedish sickness fund organization. These funds render possible an effective expansion of insurance activities and ensure the proper adjustment of the risk; thanks to this fact the State-aided activities of the funds can be carried on even in those parts of the country where, owing to the enormous

Sickness Benefit Funds

distances and the sparsity of the population, it would hardly be possible to maintain local sick benefit organizations capable of paying their way. At the turn of the year 1935/1936 there were 28 central funds. Of these, 12 had as their area of operations one or more — at the highest three — provincial council areas, while in the case of 9 funds the area consisted of a particular town. Of the remaining 7 funds, 6 were occupational or factory funds and one was intended for deaf-mutes and their wives. At the date just mentioned the local funds numbered 1,312, so that the total number of approved sickness funds amounted to 1,340.

The number of insured *members* was in round figures 927,000, of whom 733,000 belonged to both a local and a central fund (*indirectly* associated members of the latter) and 194,000 to a central fund only (*directly* associated). The total number of insured persons (excluding double memberships surviving from the period in which the first sickness funds legislation was operative) amounted in round figures to 925,000, corresponding to about 15 % of the entire population of the country. Of these members 529,000, representing 57 %, were men and 398,000, or 43 %, were women. Altogether 605,000 members were fully insured in the funds, that is to say, they were insured for both daily allowance and compensation for medical aid, while 313,000 were insured for daily allowance only and 9,000 for compensation for medical aid only. During 1936 the membership increased to, in round figures, 1,010,000.

The total number of *cases of illness* during 1935 was about 315,000, of which 180,000 concerned men and 135,000 women. The number of *days of illness* in respect of which sickness benefit was dispensed in the form of daily allowance or compensation for hospital treatment amounted in round figures to 13.7 million, of which 7.0 million related to men and 6.7 million to women. The total number of confinements in respect of which maternity benefit was given during the year was about 12,000. In addition, State maternity relief was paid in 53,000 cases in which the mother either did not belong to any approved sickness fund or else had not been a member of such a fund for a sufficiently long period to entitle her to maternity benefit from that fund. The total number of confinements in which maternity aid in some form or other was granted by an approved sickness fund thus amounted to about 65,000, corresponding to about 75 % of the total cases of confinement in the country in 1935.

Social Insurance

The sickness funds' *incomes* in 1935 aggregated about 40 million kr., of which 26 million kr. consisted of fixed membership contributions. In State subsidies there was paid to the funds a total of 10.8 million kr., and in addition 1.4 million kr. in compensation for disbursed State maternity relief. Of the State subsidy in respect of the funds' activities in 1935 — which was only partly disbursed



Convalescent Home established by Sick Benefit Societies in Gothenburg.

during that year and the total amount of which will probably work out at 10.6 million kr. not including the amount of State maternity relief — it is estimated that 2.8 million kr. will be paid as membership subsidy, 6.4 million kr. as daily allowance subsidy, 0.9 million kr. as medical aid subsidy and 0.5 million kr. as maternity subsidy and midwifery subsidy. Besides State subsidies, 1.1 million kr. was paid to the sickness funds during 1935 as subsidies from certain communes and provincial councils, employers and others. Altogether 511 of the societies were in receipt of such voluntary subsidies. The sickness funds' *expenditure* included a total of 31.3 million kr. for sickness benefit, of which 28.3 million kr. was for daily allowance, 1.8 million kr. compensation for medical aid, and 1.1 million kr. for hospital treatment, and further 0.1 million in compensation for

cost of medicines, etc. 1.1 million kr. was disbursed as maternity benefit, of which 0.9 million kr. was for maternity allowance, 0.1 million kr. in compensation for midwife's services, and 0.1 million kr. for treatment at a maternity hospital. The sickness fund's *assets* accounted for at the end of 1935 amounted to 27 million kr.

The figures quoted here are in part only preliminary.

In conjunction with their work for the care of the sick, the sickness funds have in several places arranged in cases of illness for after-treatment at establishments set up and maintained by themselves. There are six such establishments (convalescent homes, nursing homes), including those in Stockholm and Gothenburg. Further, a small number of funds provide medical treatment in the home, when required, with the aid of a staff specially trained for the purpose.

The approved central sickness funds are associated in an organization -- the Swedish Sickness Funds' Federation -- the function of which is to safeguard and promote the interests of the approved funds.

Sickness Benefit Societies not in Receipt of State Support.

The sickness benefit societies that are registered under the Benefit Societies Act but are not in receipt of State support carry on their work more or less on the same economic principles as those applied by the societies registered under the Sickness Funds Act of 1910, and differ from the approved funds, *inter alia*, in the fact that the relief which they grant is on a considerably smaller scale. These societies at the turn of the year 1935/1936 numbered 566 and had in round figures 262,000 members. The number of insured persons was probably far lower than the number of members owing to the fact that, in contrast to the rules of the approved funds, double insurance is not prohibited, the members being permitted, if they so desire, to insure themselves in two or more other societies as well as in an approved sickness fund.

Of these societies, 107 with a membership of 131,000 gave sickness benefit alone, while the remaining 459 societies, also with 131,000 members, granted, in addition to sickness benefit, a lump-sum in cases of death (funeral benefit). In 480 societies with a membership of 228,000, the sickness benefit covered daily allowance only, in 82 societies with 28,000 members daily allowance combined with

compensation for medical aid, and in four societies with 6,000 members compensation for medical attendance only. As the figures show, insurance for medical attendance is not very extensively practised among the non-State-aided societies. In cases where daily allowance is paid, the benefit period is usually limited to a maximum of 90—100 days per annum. In altogether 100 of these societies with a membership of 131,000, i. e. $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total number of members, the benefits comprise, besides sick benefit, maternity benefit as well.

At the close of 1935 the societies possessed a combined capital of 10 million kr., including a fund to provide funeral benefit.

The legal regulations governing the activities of the non-State-aided sickness benefit societies are being revised at the present time with a view, *inter alia*, to placing them on a more assured economic basis and to affording better facilities for the supervising authority to control and guide their work.

3. National Pensions, Children's Allowances and Compensation for Blindness.

By the General Pensions Insurance Act of the 30th June 1913, which came into force on the 1st January 1914, a form of pensions insurance was introduced into Sweden embracing the entire nation. After many years of exhaustive investigations this Act was replaced by the National Pensions Act of the 28th June 1935 (No. 434) and by a Royal Order of the same date relating to invalidity relief (No. 435), both of these measures coming into force on the 1st January 1937. The scheme has been further amplified since then by an Act of the 23rd April 1937 (No. 163), to become operative as from the 1st January 1938.

Fundamental Principles. The national pensions scheme embraces practically the entire Swedish nation. Every able-bodied Swedish citizen registered in the Kingdom between the ages of 18 and 65 is liable to pay a certain annual pension contribution, varying according to income. Any person is exempt from this contribution who is in receipt of a national pension or of invalidity relief or who is living entirely on the poor relief authorities or who has not been previously liable to pay any contribution and is permanently incapa-

citated for work. On the basis of paid-up contributions combined with grants out of public funds, a national pension is payable to persons incapacitated for work and at the latest upon attaining the age of 67, even if no signs have yet appeared of permanent incapacity for work.

Permanent incapacity for work shall be deemed to exist in a person who, by reason of old age, bodily illness or mental disease, physical infirmity or defect, is incapable any longer of earning a livelihood by such work as corresponds to his powers or ability.

A pension payable on the basis of paid-up contributions, the basic pension, consists of a combination of old-age pension, the pensionable age being 67, and invalidity pension, invalidity being equivalent to permanent incapacity for work.

The aim of the State in instituting a national pensions scheme has thus been compulsorily to assist those citizens who are fit for work in saving up for the period of old age and infirmity, when the capacity for work and earnings have begun to fail. As will be seen from the above observations, the private individual is not at liberty to choose whether he shall pay contributions towards a pension or not, nor may he decide on the size of his contribution.

However, for obvious reasons this compulsory saving could not be made so comprehensive as to make the basic pension which is thereby guaranteed to every insured person always sufficient for full subsistence if by reason of old age or invalidity the insured should become incapacitated from earning a livelihood by his own efforts. Accordingly, a supplement to the basic pension is granted out of public funds to anyone whose income falls below a certain minimum. This supplementary pension is mainly based on the principle of need, and its amount is reduced on a certain scale according as the insured possesses income from other sources. Similar grants out of public funds towards subsistence, which are based on the same principles, may also be made to persons who have reached the age of 16 and who for some reason or other (e. g. invalidity already incurred before the age of 18) have not paid any contributions towards a pension, such grants being called invalidity relief.

Benefits. The benefits obtainable from the national pensions scheme are thus: basic pension, supplementary pension and invalidity relief.

Social Insurance

The *basic pension* is the same for men and for women, its size depending to a certain extent upon the amount of the paid-up contributions. To every person who for at least 7 years has been charged with contributions and has paid them punctually there shall be paid as an annual basic pension a) a fixed amount of 70 kronor and b) a variable amount according to the contributions paid by each individual, corresponding to one-tenth of the contributions. If seven contributions have not been claimed from the insured, the fixed amount is reduced by 10 kronor for every unpaid contribution out of that number. In order however to qualify for the fixed amount unencumbered, it is required that the insured shall have paid all the contributions for which he is liable. Otherwise the fixed amount is reduced to such fraction of the aggregate amount of levied contributions as is represented by the total of the paid-up contributions.

If, for instance, at the time his pension falls due, a person has been charged a total of 200 kr. in contributions but has paid only 150 kr. out of that sum, the fixed amount accruing to him will be only $\frac{3}{4}$ of 70 kr., i. e. 52 kr. 50 öre. As in addition he receives $\frac{1}{10}$ of the 150 kr. paid up, his basic pension works out at 67 kr. 50 öre.

It is particularly to be emphasized that the *basic pension* is thus not dependent upon the age of the insured at the time the pension falls due, nor has it any connection whatsoever with his financial circumstances. In order however to obtain the basic pension, the National Pensions Act requires that the insured shall have paid at least *one* contribution.

For the purpose of determining the amount of the *supplementary pension* or *invalidity relief* the different localities of the country are classified into three groups with reference to the varying cost-of-living conditions in the different localities. The maximum amount of these benefits, applying equally to men and to women, is: 250 kr. in the lowest group, 350 kr. in the intermediate group and 450 kr. in the highest group, all reckoned per annum. From the amount of the benefit in each case are deducted $\frac{7}{10}$ of the amount by which the assessed annual income of the insured exceeds 100 kr. For this purpose annual income includes — with the divergences mentioned below — all such income as it may reasonably be assumed that a person will for the time being enjoy annually. The income does not however include national pension, nor such relief as anyone may be

induced to allow on the grounds of kinship or relationship by marriage, insofar as it does not represent more than a reasonable subsistence to judge from the means of the person in receipt of relief. Nor is a pension or relief which is paid by reason of a gift, a will, or insurance not prescribed by law, or, having no connection with an accident in the course of work, on the grounds of the insured person's own or a dependent's previous employment, counted as income insofar as the amount does not altogether exceed 300 kr. in group 1, 350 kr. in group 2, and 400 kr. in group 3.

In the assessment of income the yield from real property or capital shall be increased by 2 % of the amount by which the total retained value of real property and capital exceeds 5,000 kr. and by a further 3 % of the amount by which such value exceeds 10,000 kr.

In regard to husband and wife, the annual income of each of them shall as a rule be assessed at one-half of their combined annual income, and the value of real property or capital shall be estimated at one-half of the combined retained value of the husband's and wife's holdings of property or capital.

An insured person is not entitled to receive a supplementary pension if the level of his estimated annual income, according to the cost-of-living group concerned, exceeds 457, 600 and 743 kr. respectively for an unmarried person, and double those amounts for married couples.

A person entitled to a pension is deemed to belong to the cost-of-living group in which he is registered. After moving to a locality in a higher group, however, the pensioner must have belonged to such group for three years before his pension is payable according to the regulations ruling for that group.

In regard to a locality bordering on one in a higher cost-of-living group the Crown may, upon representations being made by the commune concerned, arrange for a supplementary pension payable to a pensioner who is registered within a certain area adjacent to the border to be augmented by 50 kr. provided the two localities belong to groups 1 and 2 or 2 and 3, and by 100 kr. provided they belong to groups 1 and 3. The extra amount of pension is paid by the commune, which is entitled to obtain compensation out of public funds to the extent of one-half of what has been disbursed for the purpose.

The grading of the national pensions on a cost-of-living basis did not however come into force until the 1st January, 1938. During

1937 pensions were payable throughout the country according to the regulations laid down for cost-of-living group 1.

Application for a supplementary pension or for invalidity relief is disallowed, and such supplementary pension as may have already been granted is withdrawn, in the case of an insured person who a) without satisfaction or in return for manifestly inadequate satisfaction has alienated his property to such an extent as will considerably influence the calculation of any supplementary pension he may apply for, although he must have foreseen that such alienation would involve the necessity for a supplementary pension, or who b) has given false particulars concerning his income or property of such a nature as to affect his right to supplementary pension, although he might reasonably be required to have given correct particulars, or who c) has defaulted in the payment of his contributions. Where no special reason exists for acting otherwise, however, the pensions authorities shall fix a certain period upon the expiry of which the circumstance that gave rise to the decision shall not prejudice the granting of any renewed application for a supplementary pension.

If for any considerable time within the last two years prior to his applying for a supplementary pension an insured person has become addicted to intemperance or otherwise led a dissolute life or has manifestly not done his best to contribute honourably to his subsistence, his application shall be disallowed; if anyone who has been granted a supplementary pension should fall into any such mode of life, he shall be deprived of his supplementary pension. In either case, however, the person concerned shall be entitled, after making renewed application, to have his right to supplementary pension re-examined.

When an applicant is granted a pension, a special pension paper is issued to him. Pensions are payable through the Post Office at any branch the pensioner may himself select.

It is estimated that during 1937 there will be disbursed in pensions (supplementary pensions, invalidity relief and pensions on the basis of paid-up contributions) a total of about 142 mill. kronor, this total increasing to 181 mill. in 1940 and to 225 mill. in 1950.

The number of persons drawing a supplementary pension or invalidity relief on the 1st January 1937 was nearly 400,000.

The cost of pensions is defrayed partly out of moneys derived from a fund made up of the insurance contributions, the National Pensions

Fund (see below), and partly out of public funds. According to the National Pensions Act, every commune shall contribute a certain proportion of the supplementary pension or invalidity relief paid to a pensioner who, when his case has been examined by the communal pensions committee, is declared to be entitled to receive such a benefit. The said proportion is $\frac{1}{8}$ for the lowest cost-of-living group, $\frac{1}{5}$ for the intermediate group and $\frac{1}{4}$ for the highest group, except for the cities of Stockholm and Gothenburg. These two cities have to contribute $\frac{3}{10}$. In addition, during a certain transitional period, the provincial councils are to pay a contribution, viz. $\frac{1}{16}$ of the cost of supplementary pensions (invalidity relief) to persons who were granted a pension before the 1st January 1937. The State contributes the balance of the cost of national pensions after deduction of the communes' and provincial councils' contributions as well as of moneys paid out of the National Pensions Fund.

By a special Act passed in 1918 the communes were authorized to grant out of communal funds any amount required to supplement a) pensions or relief payments (communal pensions grant) and b) the costs incurred in preventing or relieving invalidity (communal contribution towards the care of the sick), such funds not being in the nature of poor relief. This authority, which hitherto has been exercised on only a comparatively small scale, has been extended to apply also to similar supplementary communal grants towards compensation for blindness, children's allowances and advance grants. The most recent law relating to communal pension grants, etc. is dated the 18th June 1937 (No. 384).

Pension Contributions, the National Pensions Fund, etc.

The amount of contribution which each insured person has to pay annually is 6 kronor, or, if he has been assessed for the year, in accordance with the State income and property tax decree, at an amount exceeding 600 kronor, the contribution is one per cent. of the assessed amount. The maximum contribution is, for an unmarried person, 20 kr. and for married couples 40 kr. in all. The contributions are apportioned equally between a husband and wife who are liable to pay contribution and are registered as belonging to the same household.

The duty of levying pension contributions is carried out by the

authority who has to debit Crown taxes. The contributions are collected and accounted for in conjunction with the collection of Crown taxes. The Pensions Board examines the accounts and makes any necessary annotations regarding the contributions on personal contribution cards; for this purpose a card index is kept, comprising at present cards for all persons now living who were born during the years 1848—1919. The number of contribution cards in this register amounts to close on 5 million.

It is estimated that about 36 mill. kronor will be collected in contributions for the year 1937.

As has been mentioned above, the contributions are paid into the *National Pensions Fund*, which amounted on the 1st July 1937 to close on 750 mill. kr.

In accordance with a decision taken by the 1936 Riksdag, the annual increase of the National Pensions Fund is to be limited according to a certain fixed plan, so that at the beginning of the 1950's the Fund will amount to 1 milliard kr., after which the total will no longer be augmented. According to this scheme, the increase in the Fund during the next few years will amount to 20 mill. kr. per annum, and any moneys beyond that sum collected in the form of contributions and interest shall be handed over to the Treasury to be used for defraying the State's expenditure on national pensions.

Transitional Regulations. All those persons who at the end of 1936 were drawing supplementary pensions or relief in accordance with the General Pensions Insurance Act will have received as from the beginning of 1937 part of the benefits prescribed in the National Pensions Act and the Order on Invalidity Relief. They have accordingly had their pensions raised in conformity, for the most part, with those provisions of the new Act which have come into force during 1937, i. e. without grading according to local cost-of-living conditions, but with a 50-kronor increase in the maximum amount of the supplementary pension. This increase in the maximum amount up to 300 kr. has been effected in order to compensate older pensioners for not having received the fixed amount of the contributory pension. The amount due to them has been revised without any special application being necessary, though it has not been possible to take into consideration the above-mentioned provision that certain kinds of income up to an amount of 300 kr. are not to be counted as income. In order to obtain this benefit a pensioner must submit a fresh application.

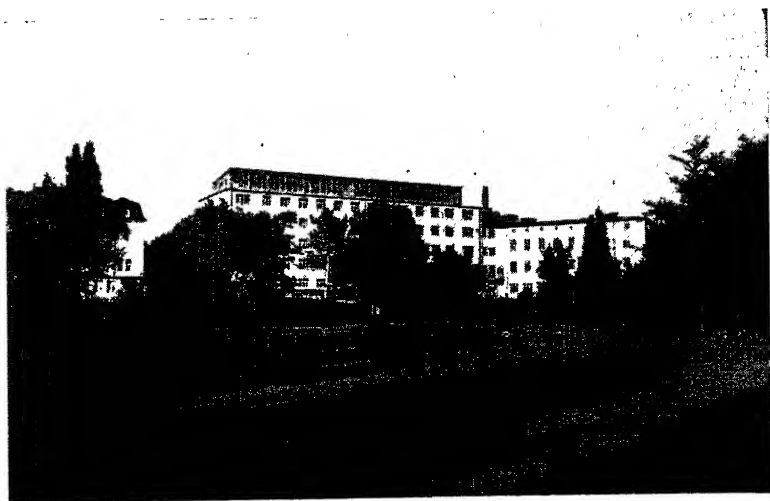
Further, the transitional regulations apply a) to persons who have been allowed a supplementary pension (invalidity relief) by a decision taken in 1937, such pension or relief covering a part of 1936 as well, and b) to persons who have paid contributions only in respect of years prior to 1937.

As from the beginning of 1938, pensioners belonging to a cost-of-living group higher than the lowest may, upon application, have their supplementary pensions further raised to a maximum amount of 400 kr. in group 2 and 500 kr. in group 3.

Pensions already being drawn on the basis of paid-up contributions are maintained at the amount fixed by the regulations in the Pensions Insurance Act. These regulations shall also apply to pensions on the basis of paid-up contributions in the case of other persons who have paid their contributions only in respect of years prior to 1937.

Pensioners of the category just mentioned also come under the rule regarding the deduction from the maximum amount of the supplementary pension of $\frac{7}{10}$ of the pensioner's own annual income to the extent that it exceeds 100 kr. Consequently, the right to a supplementary pension lapses in the case of an unmarried pensioner of that category earning an annual income of 529 kr. in cost-of-living group 1, of 671 kr. in group 2 and of 814 kr. in group 3. For married persons the limits are twice as high.

Voluntary Insurance. The afore-mentioned pension benefits may be augmented by the insured person's paying in contributions under the Pensions Board's voluntary insurance scheme, such insurance being granted with or without the condition that contributions shall be refunded in the event of death. Any Swedish citizen is entitled to pay contributions for this form of insurance at a post office, the size of the contributions being limited by special regulations. Contributions paid by a person before the age of 67 entitle him to an old age pension payable as from the date of application, though at the earliest from the completion of his 55th year and at the latest from the completion of his 67th year. The pension age is therefore not fixed in advance. In addition, in the event of invalidity a premature pension may be granted at a reduced rate. After an insured person has reached the age of 67 he may only pay contributions for insurance not involving a refund of contributions to qualify him for an immediate pension.



Hospital at Nynäs.



"Work Therapy". The Joinery Workshop at Nynäs.

The Care of the Sick. Soon after the General Pensions Insurance Act came into force it began to be realized — as it had previously been in other countries — that in many cases in which pensions were applied for on the grounds of invalidity it would be possible to relieve or considerably diminish the applicant's invalidity by means of care and proper treatment, so as to enable him again to become a self-supporting and useful member of the community. In 1915, therefore, a scheme for the prevention of invalidity came into existence as a necessary complement to pensions insurance.

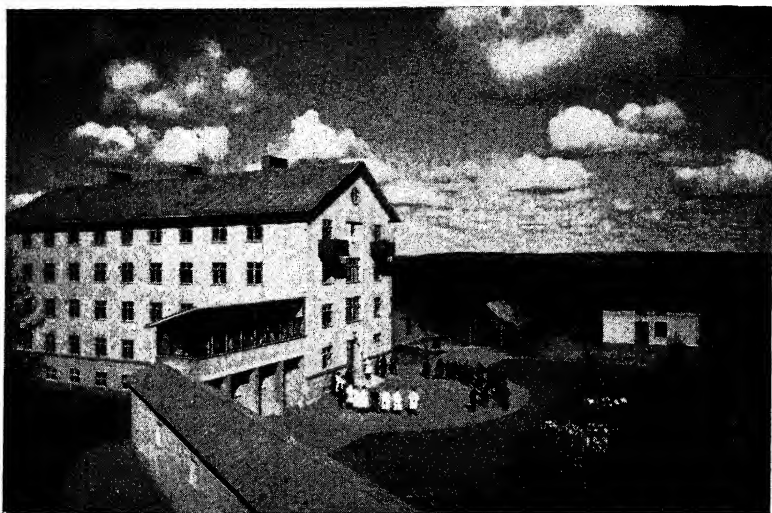
By far the largest number of cases to be dealt with comprise the so-called "health-resort cases", i. e. rheumatic cases, neurotics and "border-line" cases. Treatment is given in such cases mainly at special medical establishments owned by the Pensions Board, but also in wards at some of the larger hospitals, such wards being established through the co-operation of the Pensions Board and the provincial councils or communes concerned. These medical establishments are at present three in number: at Åre, Nynäs and Tranås. Treatment is given at these establishments to persons suffering mainly from nervous, though also from rheumatic, complaints. Treatment for neurosis is also given at one of the above-mentioned hospital wards, namely at the Malmö General Hospital. In accordance with a decision by the Riksdag of 1937, a similar special ward is to be established in the provincial hospital at Vänersborg. Rheumatic cases are treated in the other hospital wards. There are such wards at present attached to the hospitals at Norrköping, Västerås, Lund, Lidköping, Umeå and Boden, besides which, a similar ward for rheumatic cases has been established at the Institute for the Infirm in Gothenburg.

In addition to the health-resort cases, the work of the Pensions Board on behalf of the sick includes, in particular, occupational training for persons whose capacity for work has steadily declined owing to infirmity or illness, but who might nevertheless have a prospect of earning their own living if only they could learn a suitable occupation. Occupational training of this kind is given partly at infirmaries and partly by arrangement with private individuals who are themselves engaged in such occupations.

Apart from cases of pulmonary tuberculosis, which were treated under the scheme only prior to the beginning of 1919, the number of cases for whom medical aid or occupational training has been pro-

Social Insurance

vided since the Pensions Board started its work on behalf of the sick in 1915 up to the 31st December 1936 was 57,700, only those cases being included in which the treatment was concluded before the end of 1936.



Pavilion for Rheumatic Patients in the Military Hospital at Boden.

The Pensions Board's expenditure on the care of the sick is at present defrayed entirely out of public funds. For the financial year 1937/38 a sum of 2,800,000 kr. has been appropriated for the purpose.

The result of the Board's activities in this respect has been highly satisfactory. It may be estimated, for instance, that over 60 % of the health-resort cases have led to complete or practically complete recovery of the patient's capacity for work, while the occupational training scheme has yielded even more favourable results.

Children's Allowances. As a result of a decision of the 1937 Riksdag an extended form of assistance has been introduced on behalf of necessitous children. To orphans, fatherless children and the children of certain types of disabled persons, assistance is granted out of the public funds in the form of a children's allowance. This allowance, which is graded on a local cost-of-living basis as in the case of

national pensions, amounts to respectively 300, 360 and 420 kr. per annum for orphans. For the other groups of children the allowance is 240, 300 and 360 kr. respectively, subject to a certain reduction for each child where there are two or more children entitled to allowance in one family. For children under two years of age the allowance is increased by 60 kr. The allowance is reduced according to the income of the supporter of the family and is not payable after the child has completed his 16th year. If the child has any income other than what he earns himself, such income is deducted from the allowance. Matters connected with children's allowances are dealt with by the Pensions Committee and the Pensions Board. The costs of the allowances are defrayed by the State and the communes in the same proportions as are applied in the case of supplementary pensions.

Compensation for Blindness. After having been a subject of enquiry for close on fifteen years, the question of special compensation for the blind has been settled by a Royal Order on Compensation for Blindness passed on the 20th April 1934 (No. 105), and which came into force on the 1st January 1935. Any person who is without the faculty of sight, or whose vision, after any error in the refraction of light has been corrected, is so impaired that he is unable without assistance to make his way along a street or in a locality with which he is unacquainted, is deemed to be blind within the meaning of the Act and is entitled — with certain exceptions — to compensation for blindness to an amount of 500 kr. per annum.

The following categories of persons, among others, are not entitled to compensation for blindness:

a person who is under 16 years of age; a person who is liable to attend school under the regulations in force regarding instruction for the blind; a person who has become blind after the age of 60; a person who has been or should obviously be admitted to an institution for blind persons suffering from complications, for the insane, the feeble-minded, epileptics or those suffering from chronic invalidity or else to a poor relief institution; a person who under any other circumstances than those just mentioned is being looked after free of charge at an institution or otherwise at the expense of the State; a person whose own financial position or that of relations whose duty it is to support him is such that he is not reasonably entitled to receive compensation

for blindness; and a person who does not fulfil certain conditions as to his worthiness.

Application for compensation for blindness has to be made to the chairman of the pensions committee in the pensions district in which the applicant is registered. The pensions committee expresses its opinion as to the applicant's title to compensation for blindness and submits the application papers to the Pensions Board, which decides upon the matter.

It is worth mentioning in this connection that the whole of the amount of compensation for blindness has to be counted as income in the calculation of income for the purpose of applying for a national pension.

Compensation for blindness is disbursed by the Pensions Board direct by postal cheque.

During 1936 the total sum paid out in compensation for blindness amounted to about 1,580,000 kr.

Administration. Matters relating to national pensions, children's allowances and compensation for blindness are dealt with by a single authority for the whole country, the Pensions Board, and by special local pensions committees. The area administered by a pensions committee is called a pensions district and usually comprises one commune, though a number of populous or exceptionally large communes are divided into two or more districts. In 1937 the number of pensions districts totalled 2,642.

A pensions committee shall consist of a chairman and an even number of members, with a maximum of six. The chairman is appointed by the provincial governor and the other members by the commune.

Applications for pensions must be made on a special form and sent in to the chairman of the pensions committee in the district where the applicant was last registered. The committee in the first instance scrutinizes the applications and then decides, when it is a question of a supplementary pension, invalidity relief or pensions payable for invalidity on the basis of obligatory or voluntary contributions, whether the applicant is entitled to a pension, etc., and if so it assesses the annual income of the applicant on which the amount of pension is to be based. The procedure is similar in the case of children's allowance. Further, the pensions committee has to express an opinion on applic-

ations for compensation for blindness. Applications for simple basic pensions at the age of 67 and old age pension in virtue of contributions under the Pensions Board's voluntary insurance scheme are not dealt with by the committee but are forwarded by the chairman direct to the Pensions Board.

Applications for contributions towards medical treatment and occupational training are drawn up by the chairman of the pensions committee; the papers are sent in to the Pensions Board, which takes a decision on the matter.

A representative appointed by the Pensions Board shall be present at every meeting of a local pensions committee. The number of such representatives on the 1st July 1937 was 80.

Appeals against the decisions of a local pensions committee may be made to the Pensions Board by a private appellant, a commune, the chairman of a pensions committee or the representative of the Pensions Board, and should be sent in to the chairman at the latest on the 30th day after notification of the decision. The committee shall make a pronouncement on any appeal brought against it.

No appeal may be made by an individual appellant against decisions of the Pensions Board in matters relating to pensions, children's allowance or compensation for blindness. The Attorney-General, or, with his consent, a commune, the chairman of a pensions committee or the representative of the Pensions Board may appeal to the Crown against the decisions of the Pensions Board.

The P e n s i o n s B o a r d is in supreme control of national pensions. Its primary functions are to scrutinize the decisions of the pensions committees in matters relating to national pensions and children's allowances, to calculate the amounts of the pensions and to issue pension papers, to examine appeals from the decisions of the pensions committees and complaints regarding the assessment of contributions, to check the accounts of pensions contributions kept by the collecting authorities and to book to personal accounts the contributions paid, to administer the National Pensions Fund except in regard to questions of investment, and to organize the medical aid work carried on in connection with the national pensions scheme with a view to preventing or relieving invalidity. The Pensions Board has moreover to take decisions on matters regarding compensation for blindness.

By a decision taken by the 1937 Riksdag, as from the year 1938 the Pensions Board is appointed the supervising authority over

approved sickness funds and other benefit societies with the exception of the unemployment funds.

With a view to bringing an experienced lay element into pensions insurance administration, four experts are appointed by the Government to take part, in a purely consultative capacity, in the meetings of the Pensions Board when matters of special importance are being discussed.

Decisions as to the investment of moneys belonging to the National Pensions Fund are made by special Fund Commissioners, who are seven in number, namely, the head of the Pensions Board, who acts as chairman *ex officio*, two departmental chiefs in the Pensions Board and four members nominated by the Government.

4. Pension Funds, Endowment Insurance Societies, etc.

The *Pension funds* established in Sweden vary considerably both in their nature and in their mode of operation. The largest and most important group comprises pension funds for civil servants and municipal employees. Subscription to these funds is generally compulsory, and the premiums are largely defrayed, besides by the insured themselves, by the State or commune as the case may be. A number of private undertakings, and in particular the private railway companies, have likewise established pension funds, to which their staffs are obliged to subscribe. These funds frequently serve to provide pensions both for the members themselves on reaching a certain age or upon retiring (personal pension) and, in the event of death, for their surviving widows and children (family pension).

Apart, however, from the aforesaid funds, which are generally established on an actuarial basis and administered along rational lines, there are also a large number of pension funds, operating chiefly on a small scale, whose work is carried on in the simplest form and without the aid of actuarial experience. The right to a pension in these societies is sometimes merely conditional. Thus in many of them the amount of the pension is not laid down in the society's rules but varies from time to time, according to the size of the funds available and to the number of persons entitled to pensions. In other societies, again, the rules fix a limited number of "pension vacancies", and no pension can be drawn until such a vacancy occurs. Occasion-

ally, in addition to stipulating the attainment of a certain age and a certain period of membership, the rules require that a person, in order to qualify for a pension, must be in need of one. Pension funds or societies of this type represent a transitional form to the purely charitable organizations.

Endowment Insurance Societies (life insurance societies, burial funds) have been established in Sweden on a large scale and are of very varied character. A number of them, those that are least highly organized, are merely distribution societies, in which, as a rule, neither the amount payable in relief nor the size of the contributions is fixed beforehand, the former depending on the number of members in the society and the latter on the number of insurances falling due. In other societies again — and these are the most common type — fixed benefits are offered and the payment of regular membership fees is stipulated in the rules. Finally, there are a few, for the most part large, societies which operate on the basis of so-called "approved rules" (see below). These societies may be said to carry on real life assurance business, although on a smaller scale and under simpler forms than the commercial insurance companies.

As has been mentioned under the heading "sickness funds", mutual aid societies in the sphere of personal insurance (pension funds and endowment insurance societies included) are subject to special legislation, the *Benefit Societies Act* of the 29th June, 1912, with subsequent amendments. Under this Act all such societies, with the exception of the very smallest, are now subject to compulsory registration. Registration entails, on the one hand, recognition as an approved juristic corporation and, on the other hand, the obligation of submitting annual reports on the work, etc. The control to which benefit societies are subject by law is essentially of a formal nature, the intention being to regularize their activities in regard to their rules of association and by that means to give the work an adequate measure of stability and security. It is only for such societies as offer endowment relief in excess of 500 kr. that strictly compulsory provisions are laid down by law, especially in regard to premiums, funding, the administration of funds and the utilization of any surplus that may arise. Such societies operating under conditions of actuarial guarantee are said to possess rules approved by the supervising authority. The societies may not however offer or disburse

to any one member endowment relief exceeding 4,000 kr. With regard to pensions, on the other hand, no such limitation is imposed, and they may be offered up to any amount whatsoever.

Among institutions exempt from the operation of the Benefit Societies Act are those for whose engagements either the State or the local authorities are liable, as well as pension societies for civil servants, which have been declared by the King to be exempted from the application of the Act. The Act is at the present time being revised in certain respects.

Pension funds and endowment benefit societies were earlier and to the end of 1937 under the Social Board, which acted as the supervising authority, but after that date the function of supervision will be transferred to the Pensions Board. The supervision is exercised in the first instance by the same bureau as deals with questions concerning sickness funds. The administrative duties imposed on the supervising authority in respect of pension funds and relief societies other than sickness funds and unemployment funds are also essentially the same as those connected with the non-State-aided sickness benefit societies.

According to the preliminary figures available, the number of registered pension funds and societies at the end of 1935 was 265, with a total membership of 68,000. At the same period those endowment insurance societies which undertake only endowment relief numbered 648 and possessed 693,000 members. Endowment relief was also undertaken by 46 of the pension societies with 17,000 members and by 459 non-State-aided sickness benefit societies comprising 131,000 members. The capital owned at the end of the year by all the societies of the kind in question amounted to about 420 mill. kr.

At the end of 1935 a total of 12 societies, all operating as public service pension funds, were exempted from the application of the law in the manner indicated above. The membership of these societies — which are thus not included in the statistics quoted above — was 50,000, and their combined capital amounted to about 225 mill. kr.

5. Relief and Pensions for Seamen.

Seamen occupy in some respects a unique position in the sphere of social insurance, for in addition to the pension payable under the

National Pensions Act and compensation under the Accident Insurance Act, they also receive grants in the form of relief and old age pensions from the seamen's registry offices and the Mercantile Marine Pensions Institute.

The system of seamen's registry offices, which was founded as far back as 1748, was originally intended only to afford relief to necessitous and aged seamen. This work was supported by contributions from both seamen and shipowners, and with certain alterations made at various times these contributions are still paid in the form of regular subscriptions to the Mercantile Marine Fund and tonnage fees. In recent years the seamen's registry offices, of which there are at present 47, have been allotted certain administrative functions, for the performance of which the State now makes grants, but side by side with these functions they still carry on their original relief work, which also includes aid to the widows and necessitous children of deceased seamen. Thus, during 1935 a total of 670,500 kr. was granted in relief to 5,719 persons. At the end of that year the accumulated funds of the seamen's registry offices amounted to 10,660,000 kr., and, in addition, donated funds aggregated just over 1.7 mill. kr.

Side by side with, though quite distinct from, the seamen's registry offices' work of affording relief to necessitous cases, the Mercantile Marine Pensions Fund carries on proper pensions insurance activities, financed entirely by the State. The qualifications for the receipt of pensions are, firstly, the attainment of a certain age, and secondly, a minimum period of foreign service on Swedish ships. In 1935 (July) the number of pensioners was 2,307, and the total amount of pensions paid was about 373,000 kr.

V. Hygiene and Care of the Sick.

1. Organization of Public Hygiene and Care of the Sick.

Centralization and Regulations. The supervision and management of public hygiene and care of the sick in Sweden is vested in the *Medical and Health Board*, which is at present organized into four medical bureaux — for medical practice, mental hospitals, hospitals, and hygiene, — and in addition a dispensary, a veterinary bureau and an administrative bureau.



County Hospital in a small Town (Hudiksvall).



The County Hospital at Hudiksvall (the public Ward).

Organization of Public Hygiene and Care of the Sick

The Board is assisted by a scientific council composed of members representing psychiatrics, forensic medicine, hygiene, medicine, tuberculosis treatment, surgery, obstetrics and gynaecology, ophthalmology, otiatrics, radiology, syphilology, pediatrics and child welfare, neurology, pharmacology and physiology, orthopaedics, race-biology and race hygiene, dentistry, technical questions of hospital building, chemical pharmacy, pharmacognosy, as well as judicial theory and practice, animal food hygiene, veterinary medicine, veterinary surgery including obstetrics, and scientific agriculture.

The most important provisions concerning hygiene and care of the sick are found in the following statutes: The Health Act of 19th June, 1919, the Epidemic Diseases Act of 19th June, 1919, the Smallpox Vaccination Act of 2nd June, 1916, the Act concerning certain measures against the spread of tuberculosis of 4th September, 1914, the Act concerning measures against the spread of venereal diseases of 20th June, 1918, the Act concerning hospitals under provincial councils or communes of 22nd June, 1928, with hospital regulations of same date, the Mental Diseases Act of 19th September, 1929, and regulations of same date concerning the care of the mentally diseased on national lines (see page 180), and the Quarantine Decree of 4th May, 1934.

Institutions for the Care of the Physically Sick. Of the public nursing institutions those for the care of the mentally diseased have mostly been built by the State and are under the direct charge of the Medical and Health Board (cf. page 37), while the care of the physically sick devolves upon the local authorities. The different kinds of nursing institutions for physically sick persons are: hospitals and cottage hospitals, sanatoria and cottage hospitals for tuberculous cases, and isolation hospitals, homes for chronic invalids and private nursing and maternity homes.

Hospitals and cottage hospitals are intended for persons who are physically sick, both acutely and chronically; incurables and infectious patients are as a rule not received. In exceptional cases mentally diseased persons may be received at the hospitals.

These institutions are owned by the provincial councils or municipalities not coming under provincial councils; their maintenance is defrayed entirely by these authorities without any State subsidy. The number of hospitals at the end of 1933 was 94, with 18,637 beds; the number of cottage hospitals 78, with 1,464 beds.

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As regards tuberculosis hospitals see a later section: Combating National Diseases (p. 168).

Isolation Hospitals are institutions specially equipped for the treatment of persons suffering from certain epidemic diseases specified in the Epidemic Diseases Act, viz.: plague, cholera, smallpox,



Epidemic Hospital in a Stockholm Suburb.

spotted fever, typhoid fever, paratyphus, scarlet fever, diphtheria, acute infantile paralysis, infectious phrenitis, dysentery, relapsing fever, sleeping sickness. In addition, other infectious diseases may be declared as coming under the Epidemic Diseases Act by Royal Decree or by the provincial council.

The health board is obliged without delay to see that every person declared by a doctor to be suffering from any one of the aforesaid diseases receives treatment, which is generally given at an isolation hospital.

Every provincial council area constitutes under the new Epidemic Diseases Act an epidemics district. Towns within a provincial council area may be authorized by the Government to form their own epidemics district. Every such district shall have access to the requisite number of beds. The new Epidemic Diseases Act represents a transfer from the communes to the provincial councils of the responsibility of providing treatment for persons suffering from epidemic diseases.

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Persons suffering from epidemic diseases are treated free of charge in the public wards of the isolation hospitals. There are special provisions with regard to persons who, without being ill, are nevertheless suspected by a doctor to be sources of infection, so-called "carriers", and such persons may be subjected by the health board to such observation and isolation as may be deemed necessary.

The State makes a grant of 2,500 kronor per bed for the erection of isolation hospitals, but the total grant must not exceed half the entire cost of the building. The State grant for maintenance amounts to 2 kronor per day of treatment.

At the end of 1934 the number of isolation hospitals in the country was 153 with accommodation for 6,505.

Homes for the Chronically Diseased are intended to provide hospital treatment to chronic cases of physical sickness — incurable or difficult of cure — which require hospital treatment such as is not available at hospitals or other institutions. A State grant for the erection or equipping of such homes as well as for maintenance is made in accordance with provisions specially issued by the Government.

Private Nursing Homes and Maternity Homes. By nursing homes is understood establishments for providing hospital treatment in physical sickness and by maternity homes establishments or homes for providing hospital treatment in connection with childbirth. As private are considered nursing homes or maternity homes for the maintenance of which, in the last resort, neither the State, provincial council, nor commune, nor any body in which a provincial council or commune participates, is either wholly or partly responsible. Special regulations have been issued by the Government regarding private nursing homes and maternity homes.

Medical Officers of Health. The public health and care of the sick activities of the community are entrusted mainly to the *medical officers of health* — i. e. doctors who are in the service of the State, provincial councils or communes. To these belong doctors who are engaged at nursing institutions, such as hospital doctors, sanatorium doctors, etc., as well as doctors not attached to any special institution, such as provincial, town, borough and municipal medical officers of health. The provincial medical officers comprise: chief provincial medical officer, provincial medical officer and assistant provincial medical officer.

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The main duty of the chief provincial medical officer is to supervise the public health and care of the sick of the province. There must be one such officer stationed in the seat of government of each province. In the four largest towns of the country (Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö and Norrköping) chief municipal medical officers are engaged with the same duties as those devolving on chief provincial medical officers.

The number of provincial medical officers' districts in Sweden is at present 317. The number of assistant provincial medical officers' districts is 38.

District Nurses. An important step forward, especially in rural nursing conditions, is the introduction of *district nursing*. This dates from the beginning of 1920, after the Riksdag, in 1919, had passed a Bill allowing State grants for district nursing work, and laying down regulations for the training of nurses throughout the country. The work of the district nurses consists partly in giving advice on questions relating to child welfare, care of the home and hygiene and other branches of preventive medicine, partly in such sick nursing as can be carried on in the homes.

To qualify as a district nurse, an applicant is required to have undergone a full course of training at a nursing school approved by the State, and in addition a course of instruction at the State School for Training District Nurses. At the latter, which constitutes an extension course for the former, instruction is given in infant care, maternity care, various branches of hygiene including domestic hygiene, care of the home, nutrition and household economy as well as school hygiene, the treatment of infectious diseases, disinfection, care of disabled and crippled, dispensing and district nursing, medical statutes, sociology and social legislation including practical training and demonstration, etc.

The course, which also includes attendance and boarding at certain institutions, generally lasts for 6 months, but may continue up to 12 months for students requiring to supplement their training in child welfare. The cost of instruction and training is entirely defrayed by the State, and the pupils are granted scholarships, which at present amount to 500 kronor for the complete course.

The district nursing organization is not yet completed but it is reckoned that the number of district nurses for rural areas will even-

Organization of Public Hygiene and Care of the Sick

usually reach 1,400. District nursing is under the control of the Medical and Health Board, and supervision is exercised by an inspectress on the staff of the Board.

Midwifery, formerly entirely under local authorities, was to a certain extent reorganized in 1919. Thus, as the existing 88 midwives in communal employment retire, the country is to be divided into something over 1,600 midwifery districts, each one embracing one or more communes, in some instances a portion of a commune. In each province there is a midwifery board appointed by the provincial council, with the chief provincial medical officer as ex officio chairman, and this board, *inter alia*, fixes the fees for the district midwives. In addition to the fees they receive for their services, the district midwives are entitled to a fixed salary, towards which the State, the provincial council, and the respective communes contribute.

There are two institutes for the training of midwives established and maintained by the State, viz. at Stockholm and Gothenburg. The course lasts for two years. Furthermore, every midwife is required every ten years to undergo a fortnight's refresher course.

Medical Gymnasts. Among the qualified practitioners within the sphere of hygiene and nursing may also be mentioned the *medical gymnasts*. Training for the profession is given either at the State Central Gymnastic Institute, in Stockholm, or at any of the private gymnastic institutes, whose certificates of examination are accepted by the Government (The South Swedish Gymnastic Institute at Lund, and Dr J. E. Arvedson's Gymnastic Institute in Stockholm). The instruction and training given at these institutes have acquired an international reputation and given Sweden an undisputed position in gymnastics. Many of the gymnasts passing through these institutes, both male and female, have taken up work abroad, and have contributed greatly towards establishing the position of gymnastics in the sphere of hygiene.

The Pharmacy System in Sweden is based upon purely personal concession in such a manner that when a pharmacy vacancy arises it is granted by the Government to the best qualified amongst the applicants. The holder of such a concession is obliged to retire at the age of 67, with a pension which at present amounts to 6,000

kronor per annum. In certain instances the holder of a pharmacy concession is allowed to lease out the pharmacy, the terms being fixed by the Medical Board, which also selects the lessee. At the beginning of 1929 the number of pharmacies was 441, of which 29 were branch chemist shops.

Since 1896 matriculation has constituted a condition for being accepted for training in pharmacy. The period of practical training and instruction is 2 years. After that come theoretical studies for six months at the Pharmaceutical Institute, in Stockholm, to obtain a degree in pharmacy, which entitles the holder, *inter alia*, to handle poisons and make up medical prescriptions. After a further period of at least one year's practice at a pharmacy, and 2 to 2½ years' studies at a college, the examination for apothecary is taken. Since 1891 women have also been allowed to enter the profession of apothecary. At the beginning of 1936 five women were in charge of pharmacies.

The sale of medicine to users is as a rule reserved to the pharmacists; manufacturing and wholesale trading are also permitted to certain others who possess the necessary qualifications. Regulations on these matters are laid down in the Pharmaceutical Goods Act of 1913. The sale of dangerous poisons is also in general restricted to the apothecaries; detailed provisions on the subject are contained in the Poisons Act of 1906.

The prices of medicines at the pharmacies are fixed by the tariff issued by the Medical Board once a year, on principles laid down by the Government.

The supervision of the dispensary system is vested in the Medical Board, which includes a pharmacy bureau with an apothecary at its head.

The pharmacies are inspected once a year by the chief provincial medical officer, who makes a personal visit, or by two inspectors specially appointed for the purpose.

2. Private Organizations.

The Red Cross. Sweden was one of the first countries to join the Geneva Convention in 1864 and in the following year the Swedish Society, the object of which was to work for the voluntary care of

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the sick and wounded in the field, began its activity. On the comprehensive reorganization of voluntary care of the sick in Sweden in 1915, the Society took the name of "The Swedish Red Cross". The Society is not a private benefit society in the ordinary sense of the term, but a permanent national organization with public inter-



One of the Red Cross Hospitals in Norrbotten County (north of the Arctic Circle).

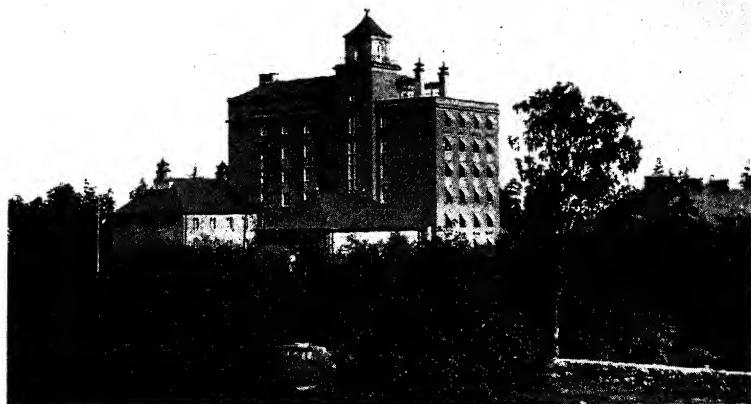
ests and aims, and also with public responsibility under State control. It receives an annual State grant, and fruitful co-operation with the State medical officers is secured by statutory regulations. In 1923 a special Young People's Red Cross was formed to foster interest in the aims of the Red Cross among the youth of the country. The Swedish Red Cross is divided into 24 districts and 855 sub-districts, 50 Red Cross corps and 300 young people's sections. The total value of its resources in money, real estate and material resources is at the present time about 19 million kronor.

In its rules, adopted in 1925, the objects of the Society are set forth as, *firstly*, during war to assist the defence forces in the care of the sick and wounded, and in times of peace to prepare for that task, *secondly*, to co-operate in various ways for the improvement of hygiene and the care of the sick within the country. Here, however,

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the account of its activities will be limited to the main features of the social hygiene work of the Swedish Red Cross.

The programme of this work was first announced in a circular drafted in 1918, later supplemented and replaced by a "Working programme for the social hygiene activities of the Swedish Red



The Red Cross Hospital, Stockholm.

Cross". According to the society's rules this side of its activities consists of

- "the organization of temporary care of the sick and emergency aid in epidemics and other misfortunes, and the establishment of hostels for the sick and other institutions in support of the public care of the sick;

- the training and provision of female nurses and other medical staff for the public and private care of the sick;

- the collection and supply of medical material and means of transport for the sick, such as may be expected to be lacking from other sources;

- the circulation of information and the organization of other measures to promote hygiene and the care of the sick within the country".

The Swedish Red Cross has sought to carry out this comprehensive programme in various ways.

Voluntary work is the backbone of all Red Cross activities, and it is thanks to this that the Red Cross has been able with the means

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placed at its disposal by the State and private persons constantly to extend its objects for the benefit of society and the education of the people.

Among the social-hygiene tasks should first be mentioned the loan of supplies from the considerable stocks that the Red Cross district committees and sub-districts have collected — bedding, wearing apparel for the sick, nursing utensils, baby clothes, etc., *firstly*, in the case of epidemics and times of widespread sickness to supplement public care of the sick, and *secondly* to facilitate the establishment and equipment of hostels for the sick and lying-in homes (rooms), the organization of educational courses, summer holiday camps, etc., and *finally*, to improve sick-bed conditions and in other ways to bring about relief in homes where sickness exists. As a rule borrowers are required to pay a small fee for the use of articles, except in cases of destitution, when the Red Cross itself bears the expenses. The abundant Red Cross stores are maintained and extended by voluntary *sewing work*, done in the Red Cross districts.

To relieve prospective mothers from the responsible and heavy work of the home and from the perils which conditions in a home often lacking in good hygiene may cause both during and after confinement, the Red Cross has organized a number of small *maternity homes* in midwifery districts remote from hospital institutions. There are now some 50 such homes throughout the country, providing care and repose for both mothers and infants.

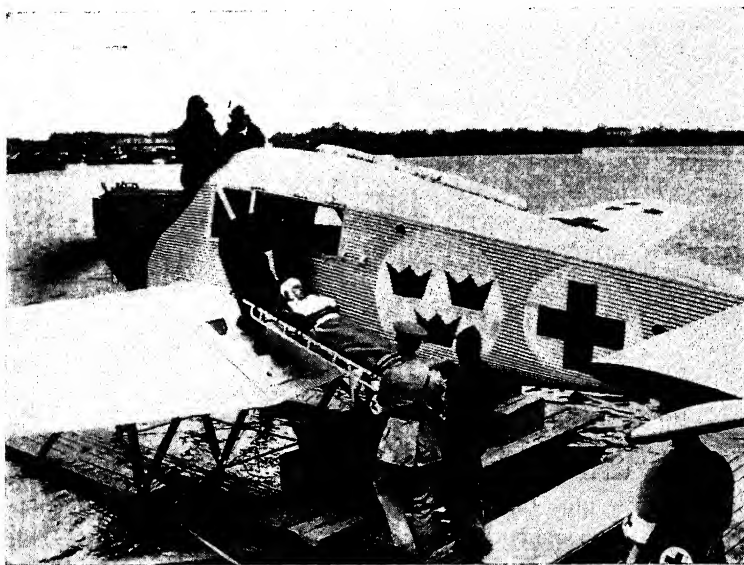
In isolated districts and regions where communications are poor, particularly in Upper Norrland, the Red Cross has established small *hostels for the sick*, where patients are sure of quiet and attention from women nurses and where they may rest while awaiting conveyance to a hospital institution, perhaps a long distance away. There are ten such hostels operating throughout the country. Nursing days at these hostels have in recent years varied between 8,000 and 10,000.

An important feature of the Red Cross work for improving national health is the organizing and running of *children's homes* for healthy children from tuberculous families with a view to preventing the spread of the disease. Specially beneficial are the more and more common *summer holiday camps* established by the Red Cross for delicate children who would otherwise be compelled to spend the summer months in the cities, which are less healthy at that time of year.

One of the main objects of the Red Cross is the training of fully

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experienced and responsible *female nurses* for assistance in hospitals and the home and for aid both in peace and war. The number of nurses attached to the Red Cross is nearly 2,000 and new pupils accepted each year number 120. The training is for three years and is directed from the *probationers' and nurses' home* of the Red Cross.



A Red Cross Ambulance Plane, intended for Norrbotten.

Practical training is obtained in the *Red Cross Hospital* and other large hospitals in Stockholm.

To remedy the shortage of nurses still prevailing in many parts of the country the Red Cross has for many years maintained *parish* and *communal nurses*, particularly in the areas where the district nurse organization is not yet in full operation. Further, in the sparsely populated far North the Red Cross endeavours to arrange for the sick and injured to be attended to by "samaritans" trained by the Red Cross, until competent nurses or doctors can take charge of the cases.

To ensure the care of children who on account of illness or death in their homes are in need of help, and also to tend the sick in the absence of the nurse, the Red Cross has stepped in by supplying

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"home caretakers", whose work in keeping homes together when the housewife is ill or away is gaining increasing appreciation both within and outside the Red Cross.

During the last few years the Red Cross has contributed largely towards bettering facilities for the *transport of the sick*, particularly in the rural districts. The plan worked out with the co-operation of the Red Cross has already been put into operation in many parts, and the Red Cross is endeavouring still further to improve on the lines laid down. For instance the Society has provided or contributed to the cost of a number of motor-ambulances and other vehicles for the transport of the sick and the adaptation of private motor cars for this purpose, while a considerable number of contracts have been made with owners of commercial vehicles to place these, adapted for sick transport, at the disposal of the public. The Red Cross has also endeavoured to improve sick transport facilities by providing various kinds of stretchers. Real pioneer work has been done by the Red Cross in acquiring *ambulance aeroplanes* to meet the need of rapid sick transport especially in Upper Norrland. No less than five ambulance planes have been acquired, but three are already worn-out.

Bearing in mind the importance of increased popular education in hygiene questions, child welfare, home-nursing, social hygiene, and first aid to the injured and those taken by sudden illness, the Red Cross has endeavoured to spread knowledge on these subjects to increasingly large numbers of the population by a series of courses in *hygiene and care of the sick*, and special leaders have been trained for the running of these popular courses. The numbers of courses and members have increased constantly each year. In the last 18 years something like 6,000 courses have been arranged attended by over 110,000 persons.

	1923	1927	1931	1936
Number of courses	160	300	400	700
Number attending	3,100	5,500	7,700	15,000

For instructional purposes the Red Cross has published and distributed all over the country a large number of *pamphlets* and *hand-books*, in simple language and abundantly illustrated, dealing with general health and medical aid, such as "A Guide to Hygiene and Care of the Sick" (22,000 copies), the pamphlets "First Aid to the Injured"

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(85,000 copies), "Instructions on First Aid to the Injured" (60,000 copies), "Health is Everything" (165,000 copies), "Everything for the Child" (140,000 copies), "Dental Care and the People's Health" (115,000 copies), "Our Food and the People's Health" (76,000 copies), "Advice on Selection of Food to keep School-children Healthy all the Year round" (150,000 copies), and many more. In addition the Red Cross issues a monthly periodical, which has a circulation exceeding 5,000. In recent years the Red Cross has also published the large works "The Swedish Red Cross Medical Reference Book" (17,000 copies), "Health and Open-air Life" (10,000 copies) and "Mother and Child" (5,000 copies). As another link in the chain of propaganda for improving hygiene are included wireless and other informative lectures illustrated by lantern-slides and films, dealing with certain subjects of medical hygiene and certain phases of the Red Cross activities.

Rational care of school-children's health has received more and more attention from the Red Cross in the course of years and strong measures have been taken by arranging for the regular *medical inspection* of 10,000 to 15,000 school-children annually, the appointment of *school nurses* and the devoting of certain hours to matters of health.

For several years the Red Cross has been collaborating in the improvement of *dental care* in rural districts and the smaller communities where there are as yet no established dentists (cf. p. 175).

Moreover by means of propaganda and the erection of steam-baths, sometimes in conjunction with tub-baths, the Red Cross has sought to demonstrate the great importance of *public baths* for the public health.

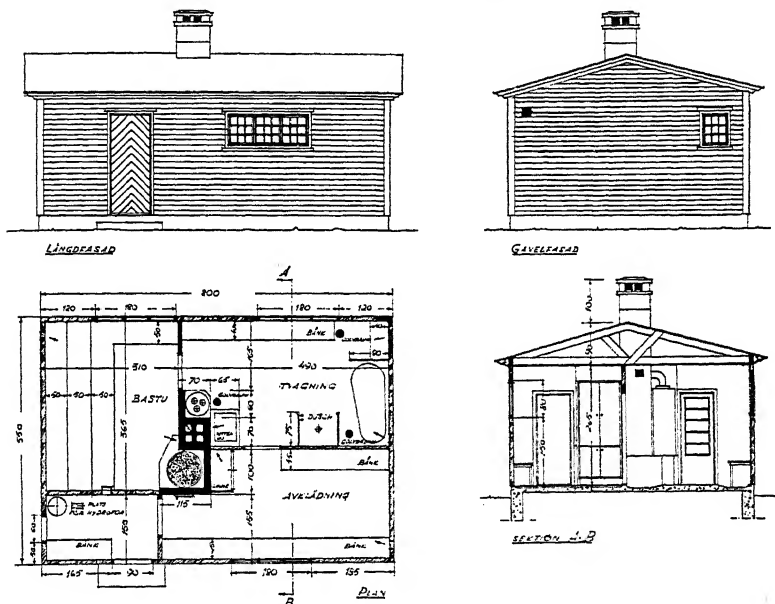
A large *staff of male nurses* is trained by the Red Cross to meet the need for a trained nursing staff for the Red Cross war hospital institutions and to serve at the *first aid stations* set up by the Red Cross at a large number of places throughout the land to help in rescue work in the event of traffic disasters or other kinds of accident.

The improvement of health and the care of the sick thus form the main purpose of the Swedish Red Cross in times of peace. For its activities in this connection the Red Cross has in the past ten years utilized more than 8 million kronor.

Swedish Public Baths Association. On 26th October, 1921, the Swedish Public Baths Association was formed in Stockholm

Private Organizations

with the object of working for the extension of the public baths movement and promoting the interest in bathing and of increasing the facilities for cheap baths and cheap laundry and encouraging the art of swimming. In conformity with its purposes it gives advice and information about baths, carries out expert investigations for the authorities



Standard Type of hot-water Baths, erected by the Society for Public Baths.

and private persons, and carries on propaganda by means of handbills and other publications, and by lectures. The committee of the Association has also had complete schemes drawn up for certain types of hot baths for rural districts, the smallest intended for large estates or small villages, and the largest for places with up to about 2,000 inhabitants. With each of the schemes are given measurements and detailed plans, complete descriptions of the buildings and the running of the establishment, and estimates of the cost.

The Association collaborates with the Pensions Board and the Medical Board and is through the latter closely associated with chief provincial medical officers and the municipal medical officers. As regards organization the Association works for the formation of local

baths societies in places where public baths are projected or are already established. These societies, and also other societies interested in the aims of the Association, including corporations, administrations and companies, may become members of the Swedish Public Baths Association. Members receive free of charge a quarterly journal that has been issued by the Association since the eleventh year of its activities.

Since 1932 the Association has also administered a fund, based on lottery proceeds, from which loans are granted for small public and school bath installations, principally in rural districts.

3. Combating National Diseases.

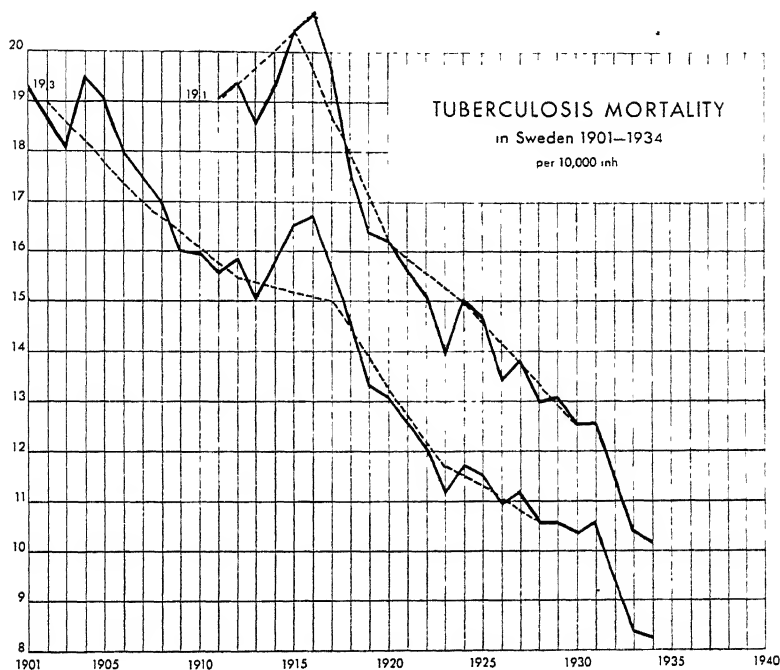
Tuberculosis. The establishment of the first institutions for tubercular patients in Sweden was made possible by His Majesty King Oscar II, who donated the gift of 2,200,000 kronor made to him by the Swedish people in 1897 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his accession for the erection of national sanatoria. In the Riksdag sessions of 1908 and 1909 Bills were passed allowing State grants for the erection and upkeep of nursing institutions for tubercular cases. Since then such institutions have been established in rapid succession all over the country. They number at present 135, with a total of 10,000 beds. The institutions are of the following kinds: 1) *Jubilee Fund Sanatoria*, intended for cases in their early stages, 2) *Tuberculosis Hospitals* and *Tuberculosis Cottage Hospitals*, owned by provincial councils, communes, etc., and intended for patients suffering from all stages of the disease, 3) *Coast Sanatoria*, owned by societies in receipt of State subsidies, and intended for the care and nursing of patients suffering from tuberculosis in bones, joints, and glands. In certain parts of the country, especially in the north, there is still a shortage of beds; in other parts of the country the requirements are more or less completely satisfied. The State, provincial councils, communes, private concerns and persons, have during the last few decades displayed magnificent liberality in aid of tuberculosis treatment.

Prophylactic work against tuberculosis is looked after mainly by *d i s p e n s a r i e s*. These are to be found all over the country, and they number about 230. The expense is defrayed by the provincial council or the commune, and they have been in receipt of State

Combating National Diseases

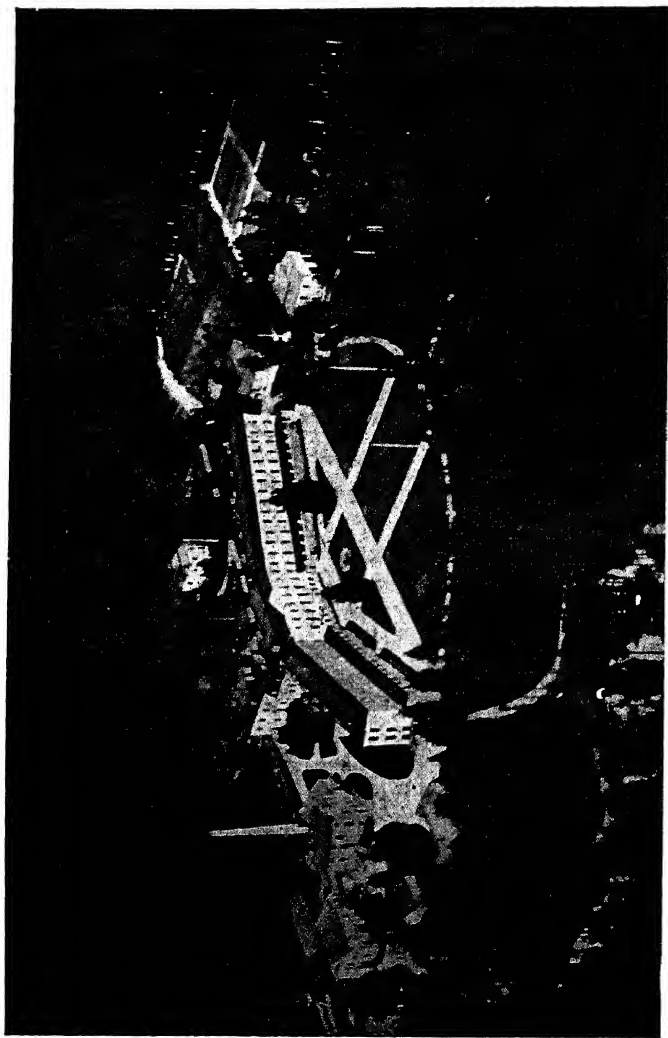
The Mortality from Tuberculosis in Sweden 1901—1934

The upper curve = total mortality from tuberculosis; the lower curve = the mortality amongst consumptives. The dotted curves = average for 5-year periods.



subsidies since 1914. The dispensaries endeavour to trace sources of infection, render homes more hygienic, adopt safety measures for children, and to a certain extent grant aid to the tubercular patients and their families. A proposal for the re-organization of the whole work of the dispensaries in the country was submitted by the Medical Board to the Government on 28th June, 1935. The proposals above all aim at providing facilities for a qualified diagnosis of lung diseases.

The Swedish Anti-Tuberculosis Association, founded on 28th February, 1904, is an organ for voluntary work against tuberculosis. The Association has carried out social-hygiene research both in Stockholm and in a district of Norrbotten greatly afflicted by tuberculosis, it has assisted the dispensary work and the endeavour to guard the children against infection, and carried out a vast work of instruction



The Jubilee Fund Sanatorium at Hålsåhl.

and enlightenment. The Association's chief source of income is the proceeds from the sale of Christmas and New Year stamps and of specially designed congratulatory telegram forms. Its annual income and expenditure amount to something like 700,000 kronor.

In the year 1914 an Act was passed prescribing measures to be adopted against the spread of pulmonary tuberculosis and containing provisions as to disinfection of homes, etc., after a death has taken place from pulmonary tuberculosis, measures for preventing the spread of infection through employees in dairies and milk shops, etc. At the present time a new Tuberculosis Bill is being drafted.

Tuberculosis is at present most widely disseminated in the northern parts of the country; the Province of Norrbotten in particular is severely afflicted. During the last few decades tuberculosis in Sweden has been very much on the decrease. The mortality figures for the period 1921—1935 were about 44.3 % lower than for the period 1911—1915.

Venereal Diseases. Since 1918 Sweden has sought to combat venereal disease by legislation.

The fundamental principles of the Act now in force are:

1) Free medical treatment for all persons suffering from venereal diseases. Such treatment is given in the large cities in polyclinics, with specially trained doctors, and elsewhere by medical officers. The State pays the medical practitioners for their services and defrays the cost of necessary medicines, etc., the local authorities paying the rest.

2) Compulsion for venereally infected persons to follow the doctor's orders. Every person suffering from venereal disease shall, on his or her first visit to the doctor, be given a small printed pamphlet containing information concerning the nature of venereal diseases and the danger of infection, as well as the provisions contained in the Act. If the patient does not follow the doctor's orders, or neglects to attend for treatment, the doctor is to notify the central medical authority ("Health Inspector"), and this authority will then summon the patient to present himself or herself for medical treatment and in case of default the recalcitrant patient may with the aid of the police be placed in a hospital. The medical practitioner is obliged to report every fresh case statistically — not by name — and try to

Hygiene and Care of the Sick

trace the source of infection, which must be notified to the aforesaid authority, the latter then seeing that the source is taken under treatment, in the same way as has been mentioned above.

3) Organization of State-aided and controlled enlightenment concerning venereal diseases.

4) Abolition of regulated prostitution.

5) Fresh provisions of the Penal Code. The transmission of venereal diseases, even otherwise than through sexual intercourse, is subject to penalty, the minimum being 50 kronor and the maximum two years' hard labour.

The results of this legislation have been on the whole favourable. The drawbacks, which had been feared and before the introduction of the Act were the subject of much heated discussion, have materialized only to a very slight degree.

With regard to the frequency of venereal diseases the following — very reliable — statistics are illuminating:

Average for	Soft chancre	Gonorrhea	Syphilis
1913—1914	1,450	10,463.5	2,056
1915—1918	1,649.2	13,032.5	2,931.5
Since the present law came into force:			
1919—1920	2,286	17,772.5	4,630
1921—1934	259.3	12,223.2	1,053.7

The definite reduction in venereal disease as evidenced by the statistics is not to be attributed to the legal measures alone, though these, especially free treatment and the tracing of the source, must have had a favourable influence, but other factors, such as better methods of treatment, particularly as regards syphilis, and social and economic conditions, must also have contributed.

The expenditure by the State for combating venereal disease since the legislation came into force has been in 1921 (maximum) 1,000,828 kronor and in 1933 (minimum) 515,875 kronor.

Swedish legislation has attracted the attention of several countries when adopting measures against venereal diseases, such as Czechoslovakia, Finland and Germany.

The "Lilla Hemmet" in Stockholm. Infants with congenital syphilis always have an uncertain future as far as regards their own health,

but besides that they are also for years a social danger through the risk of their communicating infection.

It was on account of his long and dismal experience of this danger that Edward Welander, the celebrated Swedish syphilologist and philanthropist, conceived the idea of trying to cure this social evil by setting up asylums where these infants might be kept for some years under good hygienic conditions, obtain specific treatment, and by their isolation save the community from the danger of infection. Furthermore, it was to be hoped that the special treatment would definitely cure some of the small patients and by so doing reduce the number of patients who by reason of blindness, deafness, idiocy, etc. would otherwise become a burden on the community.

After Welander had succeeded in obtaining from private sources the necessary funds, he was able, in the year 1900, to open the first modest "Lilla Hemmet" (Little Home) for congenitally syphilitic children.

As a rule, the newly born infants are at first nursed together with their mothers — mostly at hospitals — as long as the child is being suckled. After weaning or — if fed by the bottle — before, they are received at the "Lilla Hemmet". Here they are allowed to remain for 3 to 4 years, or longer if necessary, and are treated for a sufficient length of time on the most up-to-date principles, nor are they allowed to leave until they have been proved free from clinical and serological relapse for at least twelve months.

On the lines of "Lilla Hemmet", *Welander Homes*, as they are generally called, have been established in Sweden (Gothenburg and Malmö), Norway (Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim), Denmark (Copenhagen, Elsinore and Sønder Vistrup near Haderslev), Germany (Berlin) and Finland (Helsingfors).

Diseases of the Teeth. As late as towards the end of the 19th century the idea prevailed in Sweden, as indeed in most other countries, that treatment of diseases of the teeth and gums was a matter to be dealt with by the individual himself so far as his means and circumstances allowed. State measures were limited to the making of regulations regarding the practice of dentistry and the provision of a corps of dentists, for whose training a fully equipped dental institute was opened in 1897. In 1850 there were only 15 certified dentists in the country, but by 1900 the number had grown to about 300 and

Hygiene and Care of the Sick

since then, particularly in the last ten years, their numbers have been increasing, so that at the beginning of 1936 there were 2,045 certified Swedish dentists, of whom 1,975 were practising in Sweden. In 1935 the number of dentists who obtained their certificates was 149.

Comprehensive investigations into conditions among school-children made it evident towards the turn of the century that there was an extraordinary prevalence of dental decay in our country, and clinical and experimental research into dental disease in the last few decades has indicated the probability of a causal connection between this and chronic infectious disease in other organs of the body.

As a consequence, the interest in a general extension of facilities for dentistry and oral hygiene has grown enormously, and not only the general public but their representatives as well have repeatedly made insistent demands that the State and the provincial and local authorities should take steps to establish a nation-wide dental service. Thus the question of the proper care of the teeth has grown to be an important matter of social hygiene.

Such measures, however, as have been taken hitherto have been quite sporadic and not very comprehensive, consisting of the organization of dental clinics and public investigation into arrangements already made for dental service.

It is principally the school-children who have been the subject of dental care up to now. The system followed has in general been the provision by local authorities of a dental clinic on school premises, intended for school-children entirely (or practically) free of charge, but not compulsory. At present school dentistry is established in most of the towns and a great number of the rural districts. About 450 dentists are engaged in this work. In Stockholm about 29,000 out of the 31,000 or so elementary school-children, or all of classes I—VII, during the school year 1934—35 had their permanent teeth looked after at a cost of about 300,000 kronor.

An important development in the care of children's teeth was the opening in April 1936 of the Eastman Institute at Stockholm, thanks to a munificent donation of 1,000,000 dollars to the city of Stockholm by the American industrial magnate George Eastman. The municipal responsibility for the care of children's teeth in Stockholm is now divided between the polyclinics of the public elementary schools and the Eastman Institute in the following manner. At the former are treated all elementary school-children in classes I—VII,

except the corresponding age groups in three public elementary schools which, on account of their location, are now provided with dental services by the Eastman Institute. The Eastman Institute is in addition open to all other children in Stockholm between the ages of 3 and 15.

For preservative dental treatment of children between the ages of 3 and 13 or up to and including the seventh class in the public elementary school there is no charge. For children aged 14—15 there is a charge for similar treatment of 15 kronor per year, with the possibility of a reduction or exemption on certain specified grounds.

For each child there is a yearly entrance fee of 1 krona, which may be reduced or waived for certain reasons.

In cases where the teeth have been constantly neglected a special charge, known as *saneringstaxa* (charge for restoring to health), is imposed.

For the regulation of the teeth a charge is made based on the actual cost to the authorities in each individual case.

The Swedish Red Cross has for some years been organizing and defraying the expenses of a considerable number of dental polyclinics in rural districts, intended in the first place for children of school age; in this connection trials have been made with travelling dental polyclinics for school-children and adults in the province of Jämtland and with a car, equipped as a dental surgery, operating in that of Västerbotten (cf. p. 166).

Dental polyclinics for adults (the less well-to-do) have only been introduced in a few cases. In Stockholm, for example, there are the polyclinics of the Institute of Dental Surgery as well as the adult section of the Eastman Institute. In Gothenburg the municipal authorities have established a dental polyclinic for the needy, where about ten salaried dentists are available for the public at moderate fees. In conformity with a decision of the Riksdag, dental polyclinics shall be available at army and navy depots and stations. For the rest, dental treatment is less highly organized in the public secondary schools, seminaries, training homes for the abnormal, reformatories, hospital establishments, etc.

As stated above, the Government and the Riksdag, in response to the increasing public demand for active measures, have put in hand several public inquiries into the question of dental treatment, in 1913—17 into the care of school-children's teeth, 1918—20 into the

reorganization of the Institute of Dental Surgery, 1924—28 into the organization of a national dental service, and finally in 1935 reports on public dental hygiene. The last-named inquiry resulted in a proposal for the division of the country into dental treatment districts with polyclinics set up by the local authorities for the dental treatment of both school-children and adults by salaried dentists. State grants would be made for school dental treatment and the State would exercise control.

To gain experience of the lines suitable for planning dental treatment for the people, the Government in 1929 agreed that a certain portion of the surplus of the pension insurance fund should be placed at the disposal of the Medical Board and the Red Cross for organizing experimental work in the sphere of dental surgery. The Red Cross with the aid of this grant has continued its above-mentioned activities with travelling dental polyclinics and dental surgery car. The Medical Board has arranged for dental treatment in four different districts of Skaraborg and Värmland provinces. At a centre in each district there is established a permanent polyclinic for the dental treatment of both children and adults. All the teeth of the children are thoroughly looked after. The guardian of each child pays an annual fee of 2 kronor, while for the treatment of adults a charge is made at a low fixed rate.

Finally it should be stated that the committee on the care of the sick, set up by the State, has now presented a report regarding the organization of a national dental service.

Cancer. In Sweden there occur annually about 10,000 new cases of cancerous diseases (malignant tumour) and the rate of mortality for cancerous diseases (cancer and sarcoma) amounted in 1933 to 1.41 per 1,000 inhabitants.

The present organization in Sweden of the campaign against cancerous diseases has come into existence during the last three decades through close co-operation between the Universities, the Medical Board, the provincial councils and the two anti-cancer societies of Sweden, the Cancer Society of Stockholm and the King Gustaf V Jubilee Fund.

Medical science at present has at its command only two weapons against cancer which have attained such a degree of perfection that they can be permanently included in the general organization for the

care of the sick, viz: surgery and radio-therapy (i. e. X-ray and radium treatment). It has not been possible nor advisable to solve the problem of organization by establishing special institutions for cancer treatment by the side of existing establishments for the care of the sick. It has been a question in the first place of putting the surgical and radio-therapeutic departments of the public hospitals in a position to carry out treatment of cancerous disease in the best possible way and to provide these departments with the necessary appliances for the purpose.

It has, however, not been possible to equip all the hospitals of the country for rational cancer treatment. It has been necessary to centralize the work more and more as the demand grows for specialization and material equipment.

Research in the various sections of cancerology is carried out in the different theoretical and clinical institutions of the Universities. Cancer research, wherever it is carried on, receives substantial grants from special funds established for the purpose by the Swedish Medical Society and the Caroline Institute, but above all from the King Gustaf V Jubilee Fund and the Cancer Society.

The whole of the surgical treatment in Sweden is carried out in the surgical departments of the public hospitals. Altogether there are in Sweden 96 hospitals equipped with surgical departments. That means that there is available a hospital equipped for surgical treatment for about every 65,000 inhabitants.

A number of these hospitals have departments for special branches of surgery under the direction of specialists. Altogether there are 14 special sections for otolaryngology, 12 for ophthalmology, 6 for gynaecology and one for neuro-surgery. Thanks to the existence of these special sections at certain hospitals there has been a fairly strong centralization of special surgical treatment for tumours. Even as regards general surgery, the larger hospitals where there are surgeons possessing higher qualifications and more experience tend more and more to attract cases that necessitate technically difficult operations, which has still further contributed to accentuate the centralization of tumour surgery within the large central hospitals.

There are at present in Sweden 41 hospitals with radiological wards equipped for X-ray treatment of cancer and under the independent direction of a fully trained radiologist. This means that

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for every 150,000 inhabitants there is one hospital equipped for X-ray therapy of tumours.

Radio-therapy and combined X-ray and radio-therapy are practically speaking concentrated within three radio-therapeutic clinics each serving its own part of the country, the Jubilee Clinics attached to the University hospitals of Stockholm and Lund and to the Sahlgren Hospital at Gothenburg. Together these clinics have at disposal at present 122 beds, which as a result of extensions to buildings within the next two years will be increased by 91, so that the three radio-therapeutic clinics will together have available 213 beds. About 90 % of this accommodation is taken up by patients suffering from tumour diseases. Both the Jubilee Clinics and the X-ray-therapeutic sections have their own polyclinics.

Within the Jubilee Clinic in Stockholm, the "Radium Home" founded in 1910, are combined a research institute for radio-pathology and a research institute for medico-radiological physics. The physical institute has a special department which supervises appliances, protective devices and the administration of doses, not only at the radio-therapeutic clinics but also at all the X-ray-therapeutic departments throughout the country. The histological diagnosis of tumours is carried out by the pathological institutions of the medical faculties and by the pathological wards attached to several central hospitals and by the Jubilee Clinic in Stockholm. Altogether Sweden has 10 pathological institutes which carry out the histological diagnosis of tumours.

Sweden possesses a supply of in all about 11½ grammes of radium for tumour treatment. In addition the firm Radium Belge has placed at the disposal of the Jubilee Clinic in Stockholm a quantity of 5 grammes free of charge for 5 years for experiments in tele-radium treatment.

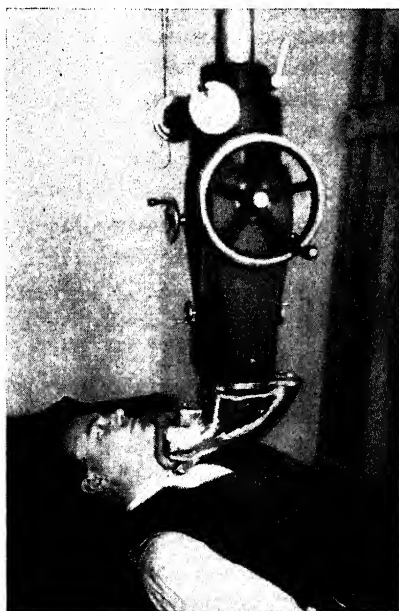
It has not been considered advisable to set up special consultation centres for cancer. Medical practitioners and the hospital polyclinics are the instruments for detecting cases of cancer.

The central radio-therapeutic clinics have well-organized administrative sections which take care that patients come under treatment as early as possible and which after treatment keep an eye on them. These sections also direct the checking of results of treatment and arrange for the social relief of needy patients.

The cost of treating cases of cancer is nowadays defrayed in the

Combating National Diseases

same way as the cost of other kinds of special care in Sweden, and the State and local authorities provide the greater part of the costs for all patients admitted to the public wards and the whole cost in the case of treatment of the needy. The strong concentration of cancer radio-therapy has been made possible by the State defraying needy patients' travelling expenses to and from the Jubilee Clinics.



Treatment of Tumour in the Neck by means of a "Radium Gun".

The Central Statistical Office draws up detailed annual statistics of mortality. At the radio-therapeutic clinics complete statistics are kept of the results of treatment, those at the Radium Home comprising all patients treated there since 1921 and allowing of a survey of the final results from the radio-therapy of tumours. There are no continuous morbidity statistics or statistics of the results of treatment covering the whole country.

Just as the treatment of cancer has been entrusted entirely to the public hospitals, clinical training in the diagnosis and treatment of cancerous diseases has been assigned to the training clinics where

cancer patients are treated. The radio-therapeutic clinics have year by year grown in importance for the training of doctors in the domain of cancerous diseases, seeing that greater numbers of cancer patients in all stages of the disease are admitted there than at any other clinic.

In Sweden instruction in radio-therapy has hitherto been entrusted to the university lecturers in medico-radiology, who gave instruction both in X-ray diagnosis and in radio-therapy. Since 1st July, 1936 the professorship in medico-radiology at the Caroline Institute in Stockholm has been divided into two, a chair of X-ray diagnosis, the occupier of which is the principal of the central X-ray department of the University Hospital, and a chair of radio-therapy, the occupier of which is chief of the radio-therapeutic clinic.

Instruction in the spheres of tumour pathology is carried out at the pathological institutions of the Universities.

In Sweden the State defrays the cost of instruction in the various branches of cancerology, as well as that of all other university training.

Public enlightenment regarding cancerous diseases has been spread through the anti-cancer societies by means of pamphlets and newspaper articles and by the information disseminated by medical practitioners. Public interest in the anti-cancer campaign has been steadily increasing, chiefly thanks to the steadily improved results obtained year by year from the work of the radio-therapeutic clinics.

It may be claimed that every sufferer from cancer who can derive any benefit from surgical or radiological treatment can obtain in Sweden the best treatment available no matter what his financial situation or his place of domicile.

4. Care of the Abnormal.

Mental Disease. At the beginning of 1931 a new Mental Diseases Act came into force. It is based on the principle that on the one hand no circumstantial formalities must prevent speedy admission to mental hospital, and on the other hand that any person so admitted shall have the right to appeal against his detention there.

An innovation in the law is that the patient himself has the right to make application for admission to a mental hospital. If the applica-

tion is for admission for treatment, then no other action is required beyond the application itself — which must be witnessed by two trustworthy persons certifying that the patient signed his name thereto of his own free will — but if a person wishes to enter a hospital for observation (e. g. to obtain a certificate of health to annul a declaration of incapacity or for contracting marriage, and so on), then in addition to the application a statement must be delivered showing the reason for the observation requested. If it is a question of a person declared incompetent, then the consent of those legally responsible for his person must be given. If application for admission to an asylum is made by a person other than the patient himself — guardian, relative, chairman of a board of health or poor relief board, a police authority — there is required, in the event that the need for treatment is pressing, in addition to the application only a medical certificate in prescribed form (known as a treatment certificate), and if it does not certify that the need for treatment is pressing it must be supported by statements made by trustworthy persons in prescribed form (known as a report on way of living).

An extract from the parish register — whether application be made by the patient himself or by another — need only be procured after admission. The same applies to the undertaking to pay the fees provided it is not a question of admission to the first-class ward.

With regard to the mentally diseased who are likely to endanger the personal safety of others or their own life, the law allows of more simplified formalities. In such a case the detailed medical certificate (the treatment certificate) is not necessary, but admission for treatment can take place on the application by a police authority supported only by a medical certificate in which the dangerousness due to mental disease is certified with a statement of the observations on which this opinion is based. The police authority, however, must present not later than the second day after admission to the hospital a report on the police interrogation, indicating the circumstances that led to the application.

As, however, it is not always possible on medical examination alone to determine whether mental disease is present or not, the police authority has also been given the right to arrange that a person from whose behaviour "it manifestly appears that he is likely to endanger the personal safety of others or his own life" shall be interned in a mental hospital for observation. With the application in such

case must be included the report on the police interrogation indicating the circumstances that led to the application and a medical certificate in prescribed terms (called observation certificate) certifying that "there is reason for supposing" that the person examined is mentally diseased.

Admission for observation on the application of a police authority can, however, only take place in a mental hospital belonging to the State or a town which has undertaken the entire care of its mentally diseased inhabitants. In other cases the provisions of the new Mental Diseases Act apply to all mental hospitals whether established by the State, provincial council, municipality or privately.

Although no definite provision to that effect exists, the care of the mentally diseased in Sweden has become chiefly a matter for the *State*. Exceptions to this are represented by the three largest towns in the Kingdom, Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, which by agreement with the State have undertaken, in return for certain contributions both to building and maintenance costs, to look after their own mental cases (with the special exception of "criminal patients"). For the remainder of the country a project was drawn up in 1927 for the provision of a sufficient number of places for patients requiring treatment in a mental hospital, at the time estimated at about 16,000 (representing about 0.3 % of the population). In this number of places — since the number available at the State institutions for the mentally diseased at present amount to about 15,000 — there is still a shortage of about 1,000, a shortage which according to the project is to be remedied by the provision of a new small hospital in Gotland, due to be ready for opening in 1937, and by a new large mental hospital in lower Norrland, the recommendation for which has not yet been presented to the Riksdag. By earlier legislation the provincial councils were responsible for providing treatment of short duration for mental cases in pressing need of institutional care. As by the new legislation the provincial councils may be exempted from this liability — which now has no point, since acute cases are always admitted with priority into the State mental hospitals — all such provincial council institutions located near the State hospitals have been taken over by the State, in accordance with the above plan.

On account of the shortage of accommodation prevailing up to now in the State mental hospitals, a number of towns and also some of the larger rural communes have in the course of years arranged special

Care of the Abnormal

mental departments at their poor relief institutions, in some instances on other premises. These small communal mental wards will no doubt, as the still existing (though in recent years considerably reduced) shortage of accommodation at the State hospitals is overcome, become in many places *treatment homes* for the more easily handled chronic cases (estimated at about 0.1 % of the population) who are not in need of the qualified care (combined with restraint) offered by *mental hospitals*, but yet require institutional care. Such treatment homes have already been arranged by one provincial council (Södermanland), and with the object of stimulating the provincial councils to deal with this question of care, the Riksdag in 1936 decided in principle to allow to the councils (and those large towns which do not come under provincial councils) State grants for both the organization and the maintenance of homes for cases of mild insanity.

As stated, every person admitted to a mental hospital has the right to appeal against continued detention. The arrangement introduced at the beginning of the century of a *chief inspector of mental hospitals*, whose duty it is to inspect every such hospital once a year, is permanently confirmed in the new Act. To this has also been added a new appeal body, called the *Mental Diseases Committee*, to consist of five members, namely the head of the Medical Board, *ex officio*, and four persons nominated by the Government, two of whom shall be medical men especially experienced in the treatment of mental disease, and one shall be or have been the holder of a position as a judge. To this committee every person admitted to a mental hospital has the right to present a claim for release. Apart from this, both the chief inspector of mental hospitals and the doctor responsible for the treatment are entitled to decide on discharge at any time. Exceptions from the above right are made for persons who, on account of their mental condition, have been declared by a court not liable to sentence for a crime committed or are known to have committed a crime against the personal safety of another while under the influence of mental derangement and who have not been brought to trial. In such cases it is only the Mental Diseases Committee which has the right to decide on discharge.

Under existing poor relief legislation the charge for care of mentally diseased persons entitled to poor relief at hospitals belonging to the State or provincial councils shall in the last resort be defrayed by the provincial council concerned. Further, the council is liable to

defray half the cost of treatment for such cases admitted to communal asylums. Finally it is incumbent on the councils to make grants to communes of specified amounts, representing the lowest charge for patients at a State mental hospital, for mentally diseased persons entitled to poor relief who are given private treatment.

In connection with the new Mental Diseases Act the Government has issued a decree regarding treatment of the mentally diseased which lays down detailed regulations governing the organization of such treatment, including treatment in a family and aid provided in connection with a mental hospital, as well as control over private treatment. In these activities the Act expressly lays down the principle applied for the past 20 years of special admission areas for the State hospitals. As regards private treatment it is stipulated that treatment homes for more than five patients must obtain in advance the approval of the Medical Board and that those who, against payment or otherwise for gain, receive mental patients not exceeding that number must within two months from starting such business apply for permission to do so to the Medical Board, to the competent officer of health or, within the admission area of a mental hospital in connection with which relief is organized, to the medical relief officer. A notification concerning each mentally diseased person received for private treatment shall be made to the clergyman of the parish.

Care of the Mentally Deficient (Imbeciles and Idiots). As mentally deficient are regarded such persons as from childhood have shown lack of mental development. According to the degree of mental deficiency a distinction is made between docile mental deficient, i. e. those who are capable of receiving instruction and theoretical teaching or practical training (imbeciles), and intractable mental deficient, i. e. those who are incapable of acquiring theoretical knowledge or practical skill (idiots). The care of the mentally deficient in Sweden has become mainly a matter for the provincial councils, although they are not under any legal obligation in this respect.

Separate schools or educational institutions are necessary for docile mental deficient. There has not as yet been any legislation in respect of the compulsory education of docile mentally deficient children, but for nearly 60 years State grants have been made to educational institutions for mentally deficient children, and all provincial

councils now possess or participate in such an institution. The total accommodation at boarding schools for mentally deficient children now amounts to about 1,700.

As, however, a large proportion of the docile mentally deficient cannot conveniently be sent home after finishing their schooling, it is necessary for an educational institution for mentally deficient children to have supplementary premises forming an occupational home, and for about 40 years State subsidies have been paid also to such homes for the mentally deficient. Nowadays, the majority of provincial institutions for the mentally deficient also have an occupational home for male mental deficient, while but few of them have separate homes for female mental deficient. In other cases the latter are allowed, as far as the accommodation permits, to remain at the institutions and are given occupation there. As, however, this cannot be done to any very large extent, during recent years several independent occupational homes for mental deficient (each for one sex only) have been arranged by private persons or organizations. The number of places available at State-subsidized occupational homes for mental deficient has, therefore, grown considerably in recent years and is now about 1,535.

As one condition for receiving a State subsidy, institutions for docile imbeciles (educational institutions and occupational homes) must not admit an imbecile subject to convulsions or epilepsy and no patient may be admitted who is not suited to the common life of the institution. For vicious imbecile children there have, however, existed for several years separate institutions established by the State, one for boys and one for girls. And, as far as adult asocial imbeciles are concerned, who had hitherto when necessary been received at the State mental hospitals (see above), frequently at no small inconvenience, there were opened in 1930 separate institutions for such imbeciles, two for asocial male imbeciles with about 650 places and one for asocial female imbeciles with about 350 places.

Finally, as regards the care of intractable idiots, State subsidies have been paid to institutions for them since the year 1905. The majority of the provincial councils have now asylums for intractable idiots, which in most instances are arranged as annexes to the other institutions for the mentally deficient. There are also many smaller asylums for imbeciles, established on private initiative. All such institutions as are not large enough to have two completely distinct

wards are intended for one sex only, except in the case of children. The entire number of places at State-aided institutions for intractable mental deficient now amounts to about 3,230. However, the State has now taken over the care of the more difficult intractables requiring treatment under skilled medical observation. A State institution with accommodation for 600 male idiots in that category was opened at the end of 1935, and a pavilion is being erected to accommodate 150 females (this latter number is estimated, however, to meet only half the actual requirements).

The charges for the treatment of pauper imbeciles at an institution for the mentally deficient established by the State or in receipt of State subsidy are defrayed by the provincial council concerned.

The institutions for the mentally deficient are under the supervision of an inspector, who must be a psychiatrist, besides which the training institutions and occupational homes are subject to special inspection by educational experts.

Care of Epileptics. Institutions for the care and treatment of epileptics are also in receipt of State subsidies, but otherwise nothing has been done officially to establish institutions of this kind. Private initiative, however, was early instrumental in establishing two institutions for bringing up docile epileptic children. One of these has an annex for epileptics who are intractable imbeciles, and both have as annexes occupational homes for epileptics who have completed their schooling. In addition there are independent occupational homes for epileptics with some working capacity who still require institutional care. One of these last has been organized by a provincial council (Kristianstad) for female epileptics. The remainder, 6 in number, 4 for male and 2 for female epileptics, have been organized by societies or private persons.

Apart from the above-mentioned, however, no special asylums for epileptics have been established. Epileptics belonging to the category of intractable idiots are, in fact, treated and cared for to a large extent at the asylums for intractable imbeciles, in respect of which the prohibition against the reception of epileptics which is in force for institutions for docile imbeciles does not apply.

At the educational institutions for epileptics are received both epileptic children who are likewise imbeciles, and more normal epileptic children, who by reason of their epileptic attacks cannot

attend the ordinary schools; and with regard to occupational homes for epileptics, these are intended not merely for those epileptics who have displayed deficient mental development from childhood, but also for adult epileptics who are capable of doing some work but are in need of institutional treatment.

As in the case of the corresponding kind of institutions for mental deficient, the condition for educational institutions and labour homes for epileptics receiving a State subsidy is that no patient is admitted who is likely to be unsuited to the life of the institution. No provision has, however, been made for the treatment of vicious epileptics, but, to the extent that they are imbeciles, they are admitted to institutions for the asocial imbeciles. On the whole, Swedish institutions for the care and treatment of epileptics lack provision for the less amenable epileptics. Another weak point in the present organization of the care and treatment of epileptics is that epileptic children who do not come under the category of mental deficient cannot get treatment or care at institutions for epileptics until they have reached school-age. Attention was drawn in 1931 at the Scandinavian Congress on the treatment of the abnormal to the importance of adding to epileptic institutions a section for infants; this was one of the recommendations made to the governments of the Northern countries. As the treatment of epileptics in Sweden would be unlikely to be provided for in a satisfactory manner unless the State establishes an institution the proposal has now been made that the State should take over for further extension the largest of our epileptic institutions, Vilhelmsro, with which the State is already associated through the grant of a loan free of interest for a new epileptic school, which was completed in the autumn of 1936.

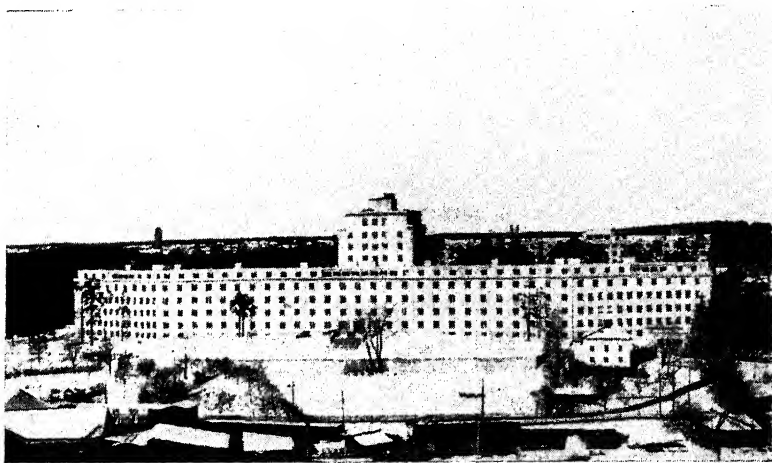
The expenses of the care and treatment of pauper epileptics at a State institution for epileptics or at an institution in receipt of a State subsidy must, under the present provisions of the law, be defrayed by the provincial council.

As to the inspection of institutions for the care and treatment of epileptics, the same provisions are in force as those for the inspection of institutions for the mentally deficient (see p. 186).

Cripples. By crippling is meant a defect, deformity or functional disturbance of the organs of carriage and movement. Within the sphere of social relief work the term has a more limited interpretation, and

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a person may be described as "socially crippled" who suffers from such disability but is at least fairly well equipped mentally and intellectually, is without any grave defects in his organs of sense, and has no evident moral defects, and whose disability is of such a nature and degree that in view of the conditions under which he lives — in



The Stockholm Cripples' Home.

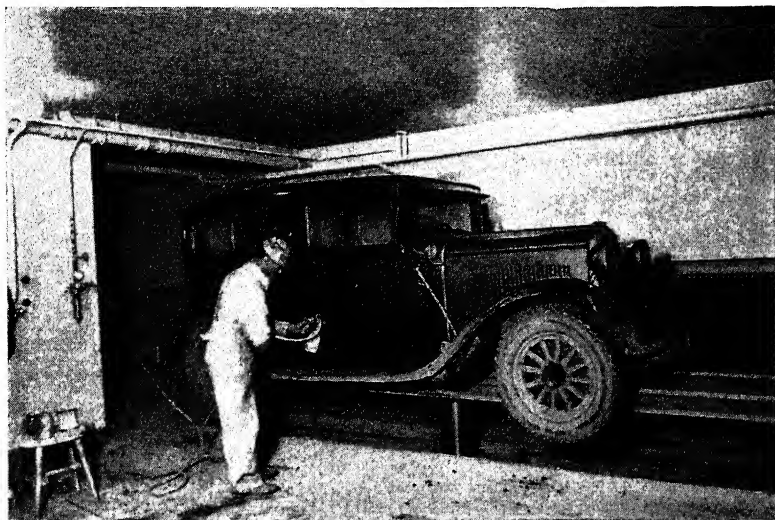
particular those of a social and economic character — it may be a matter of considerable difficulty for him to lead a reasonably normal life.

In Sweden the care of cripples is in the hands of the State organizations for the general invalidity pensions (the State Insurance Institution and the Royal Pensions Board) and of private associations, which receive ample contributions from public funds. In addition to the statutes referring to the two institutions first mentioned, the legal provisions for the care of cripples are embodied in the laws concerning poor relief and child welfare, but hitherto no special law for the care of cripples has been deemed necessary (corresponding, for example, to the German law).

The above-mentioned, State-supported associations take charge of cripples in special institutions, which comprise orthopædic polyclinics and clinics, schools and homes for children and trade schools for the more advanced (as a rule not younger than 17 years of age), and hostels

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for the majority of the pupils in the trade schools. Both within these institutions and outside them the object is first and foremost to reduce the disability as far as possible by means of surgical and mechanical treatment and with ligatures and artificial limbs, and in addition to impart knowledge in school subjects and trade proficiency, which



Car-painting done by a Cripple. (The Stockholm Cripples' Home.)

cripples often cannot obtain in the usual way. As far as they are able, the institutions also endeavour to assist their trained pupils to obtain employment and by helping them to buy materials cheaply and by finding a market for the work of those who carry on their trade independently. This latter work of assistance is carried on by social "curators" attached to the institutions.

Such institutions, each with its own funds, its own financial administration and its board of management, but alike in organization and receiving support on the same scale from public funds (State, and communes, as well as the provincial councils until 1st July, 1937, when the payments made up to then by these councils were taken over by the State), at the present time exist in Stockholm, Gothenburg, Hälsingborg and Härnösand. Their resources total about 4,000,000 kronor, and they have accommodation for about 1,000 in all.

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The governing bodies of these institutions have formed an association, the "Swedish Central Committee for Institutions for the Care of Cripples" (with a permanent office in Stockholm) which manages, firstly, certain matters common to all the institutions and the circulation of information on the care of cripples, and secondly, help for cripples aiming principally at providing pupils trained both inside and outside the institution with tools and implements, but also at assisting badly disabled persons in other ways.

Independent of this organization there is also the "Eugenia Home", an institute in Stockholm which has accommodation for about 200 chronic juvenile invalids, etc., and also provides care and training for crippled children.

The Blind. If as "blind" be reckoned every person with such impairment of sight that he has considerable difficulty in doing work for which he would otherwise be fit, then there are in Sweden about 6,000 blind persons, including the aged blind, of whom there are a great many. During the last few decades blindness has not inconsiderably diminished. Among causes of blindness may be mentioned, as being most important: sympathetic inflammation of the eyes, structural defects, hereditary predisposition and ophthalmic blennorrhoea.

Since 1896 the education of blind children has been compulsory according to an Act issued in that year. This Act imposes upon the parish school boards the duty of seeing that every child whose vision is defective to such a degree that it is unable to participate with any real advantage in ordinary school instruction, is placed in some school for the blind. These schools receive children between the ages of 7 and 14. Children aged 7—9 are admitted into the *primary schools*, while those between 10 and 14 are admitted into the *Institute for the Blind* at Tomtebodavägen, just north of Stockholm. The child spends a period of four years at the primary school, after which it is transferred to the Institute, where it remains for six years. All expenses for the children's instruction, as well as for board, lodging, clothes and travelling are defrayed by the State and the provincial council.

The schools for the blind provide their pupils with instruction fully equal to that of the elementary schools, besides which the boys are given a thorough training in brush-making, basket-making or piano-tuning, and the girls, in addition to the above-mentioned course

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of education, are instructed in different kinds of women's handicrafts, weaving, machine-knitting and household work. A number of the pupils are taught the piano, organ or violin, and also the theory of music. Such male pupils as are country-bred and only partially blind are boarded out in suitable farmstead homes to be trained in agricultural work.



Weaving-room at the Blind Institute, Tomtebodå.

For such as have become blind after the age of 14 there are special schools, one for males and one for females, where they are given instruction in trades and in reading and writing by the Braille system. The men do not live at their school. The pupils are suitably boarded out in the town, and walk by themselves to and from their school work. The women on the other hand, are boarded at the school. No age limit is fixed, nor is there any fixed term for the instructional period. In these schools blind people are also allowed to take refresher courses.

Such blind persons as are in addition afflicted with deafness or epilepsy, or are crippled, or mentally defective, receive suitable instruction and care in a large institution established by the State, which comprises an occupational home and an asylum.

The schools are founded and maintained by the State and are under

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Government control. Blind children below school age, who are homeless or whose own homes are unsuitable, may be admitted into a specially established home for children, where they are well cared for, due regard being paid to their affliction, without cost to their parents if without means.



The Institute for the Sick Blind, Lund.

On completion of their course of training, the blind are provided with the requisite tools for their trade and a small stock of materials, whereupon they as a rule return to their home district to make use of the training acquired. As owing to their great affliction the blind are dependent on the help of others, there are a number of organizations working with this object. The largest is Crown Princess Margaret's Work Committee for the Blind, which has local branches in every province and co-operates with a large number of private persons. Its activities are in the first place directed to finding employment for the blind. In this way considerable numbers have been able to become wholly or partially self-supporting. From specially established depôts assisted by the State the blind are able to obtain their requisite materials free of transport charges. Another institution with a similar aim is The Blind Workers' Union. Besides these there are others of a more local character.

The purpose of the foundation *The Book Club for the Blind* is to enable more talented blind people to study at high-schools and colleges. A weekly journal printed in Braille, with varied and useful contents, is obtainable by every blind person free of charge. Circulating libraries and publishers contribute to provide good literature. There is a specially appointed advisory expert for visiting blind women and generally assisting them with advice and information of various kinds.

Since 1935 a State allowance has been made to the amount of 500 kronor annually to every person whose sight is not sufficient to enable him to find his way about, who is over 16, became blind before his 60th birthday, and has not been admitted to a poor relief or other institution where free care is provided at the public cost. The number of blind who up to June 1936 were in receipt of this allowance was about 3,200 (see p. 147).

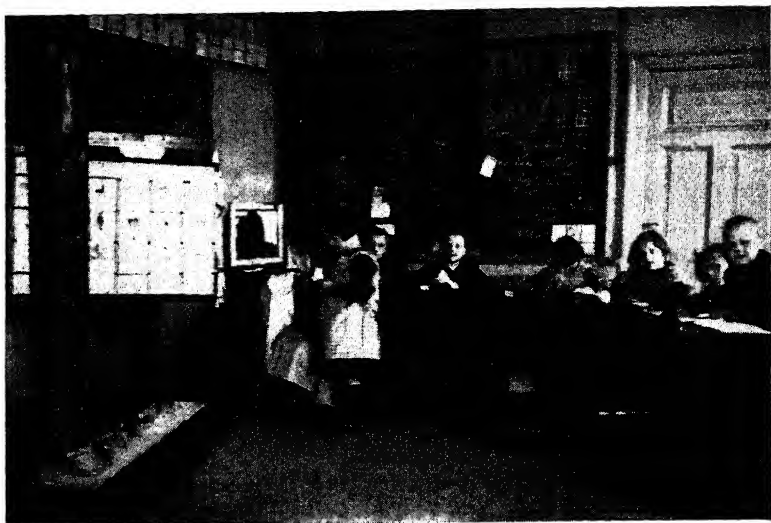
The Deaf and the Deaf-mutes. The first school for the deaf and dumb to be established in Sweden was the *National Institute for the Deaf and Dumb* (and the Blind) at Manilla, Stockholm, founded in 1809. To begin with, instruction was given by the manual method, but in 1862 oral teaching was introduced. Subsequently the number of schools was increased, and by an Act of 1889 this class of instruction was completely regulated. All deaf-mutes are subject to compulsory school attendance from the age of 7 to 9. The country is divided into seven districts with a school in each (Stockholm, Växjö, Lund, Vänersborg, Örebro, Gävle, Härnösand). The districts bear the expenses of maintenance as well as of the instruction of the pupils. A small fee, covering part of the board, may however be demanded of the guardian of a child. For each child the yearly cost approaches 2,000 kronor, 250 kronor of which is as a rule covered by a State grant.

These schools are mostly run on boarding-school lines; that in Örebro is for day pupils, while the schools in Vänersborg and Lund are combined day and boarding schools. The period of instruction covers 8 years. New pupils are admitted only every other year. For tuition the children are divided up into groups according to mentality and aptitude. The curriculum corresponds to that of the elementary schools (except for music and singing). Besides sloyd, elementary training in various trades is given. Most important

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is speech training. All who can must learn speaking and lip-reading. Less than 10 % of the pupils are instructed by means of the writing and sign-reading method, these being mainly such as are mentally deficient.

Preparatory training is given in one school at Gothenburg and one



Class for Admission to the Manilla School for Deaf Mutes, Stockholm.

in Stockholm. More advanced training, devoted mainly to practical instruction, is provided for girls at Tysta skolan (Silent School) in Lidingö near Stockholm, and for boys at Råbylund and at Vänersborg.

A plan has been drawn up for reorganizing the teaching. It is proposed that the State should take entire control and establish separate schools for different categories of the deaf and dumb: one kind for those that are not strictly both deaf and dumb, and another for pupils at the writing and sign-reading stage, whilst the period of instruction should be extended by two years with a view to imparting more thorough practical training to all classes of the deaf and dumb.

For the spiritual care of the adult deaf and dumb there are 9 clergymen, five of whom devote their time exclusively to deaf and dumb work. -- Popular lectures are given, financed by State and communal grants, and through the Swedish Deaf and Dumb

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Teachers' Association literature is published for the benefit of the deaf and dumb, viz. one journal for the deaf and dumb, and a Northern journal for the teachers. There is also a periodical edited by the deaf and dumb themselves. Many societies — of deaf-mutes or those who can hear — provide support and assistance. Of these the most important are The Deaf-mute Society of Stockholm and The National Sickness Benefit and Burial Fund of the Deaf and Dumb. For the aged and the infirm there is a home in Stockholm and 4 in the provinces (Råbylund, Hovmanstorp, Härnösand and Vänersborg).

The deaf and dumb are on the whole self-supporting. According to official statistics, in 1930 the deaf and dumb numbered 5,337; in the district schools the pupils in the spring of 1936 totalled 598, in the preparatory schools 32, and in the continuation schools 92.

For children with defective hearing who are not able to follow the lessons at the elementary schools special classes have been arranged in the larger towns (Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, Hälsingborg). The Swedish Deaf Welfare Society has been working for the benefit of the deaf since 1921. Besides the head society in Stockholm there are local societies in Gothenburg, Uppsala, Västerås, Sundsvall, Gävle, Borås, Jönköping, Lund, and Norrköping. The society receives grants from the State and from the city of Stockholm. It maintains the school for deaf children in Stockholm, arranges instructive lectures and social meetings, sermons and courses in lip-reading for the deaf, trains teachers for courses, finds work for the unemployed, and assists deaf people by arranging for specialists and collections of funds for procuring suitable hearing apparatus.

For the training of deaf and dumb teachers there is a State seminary where the course of instruction lasts two years. The work for the deaf and dumb is under the control of an inspector appointed by the Government.



As will be seen from the above, a characteristic feature of public hygiene and the care of the sick in Sweden is that it is to a large extent organized and financed by the community — the State and the

communes in collaboration. Through a network of medical officers and a system of institutions of various kinds for the care of the sick, the public — and especially people of slender means — throughout the country are thus assured of medical aid or treatment in hospital, free of charge or at comparatively small cost.

VI. Temperance Work.

1. The Organized Temperance Movement.

The temperance movement, i. e., voluntary, organized work to promote temperance among the people, has gained considerable support in Sweden, greater in fact than in most other countries. But then the need for temperance work has been great.

The Swedish temperance movement may be said to have had its beginning in 1830, when what was called a Moderation Society was formed in Stockholm. In 1836 the Reverend Peter Wieselgren founded a temperance society at Västerstad in Scania, and the following year a national organization for temperance work was established in Stockholm with the name The Swedish Temperance Society ("Svenska Nykterhetssällskapet"), which attained its highest membership figure in 1846: over 100,000. The Wieselgren temperance movement did much to combat the people's addiction to spirits, especially the use of "brännvin". The national society's activities certainly contributed to a large extent to the radical temperance reforms passed by the Riksdag of 1853—54 and aiming a deathblow at home distilling by burdening it with taxation. From this time on the national society's activities gradually declined in importance and extent.

In the 1870's the temperance movement, however, acquired a new form and new strength. As before, it was strongly influenced by English and American ideas. The Order of Good Templars was introduced into Sweden in 1879, when a lodge was formed at Gothenburg. It has been said that this marks the beginning of the modern temperance movement in our country. It worked for the most part on the lines of an order (secret meetings, ritual and ranks, etc.) and

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it demanded complete abstinence from intoxicating liquor as a form of indulgence. As regards legislation it directed itself to obtaining general prohibition of intoxicating liquor.

Interest for this radical form of legislation increased to a great extent during the general strike of 1909 after the Swedish authorities had introduced a temporary prohibition of intoxicating liquor and this had proved to have good effects. Later in the same year the temperance organizations arranged a referendum (lists of names for yes and no), in which 1,884,298 persons declared for an imposition of total prohibition and 16,715 against. During and immediately after the World War the trade in spirits was subjected to severe restrictions in several countries (e. g. total prohibition in U. S. A., Finland and Iceland and prohibition of vodka in Russia and "brännvin" in Norway). As a result the idea of prohibition was revived in Sweden. In this country a Temperance Commission appointed by the Government (with teetotallers in the majority) sat from 1911 to 1920 and submitted one after the other a number of proposals which resulted in sweeping reforms of the liquor laws. The final recommendation presented by the Commission comprised a proposal for total prohibition. This proposal led to the holding in 1922 of an official consultative referendum on the question of prohibition. The result was 889,132 votes (= 49 %) for prohibition and 925,097 (= 51 %) against.

The result of this referendum and later reverses suffered by prohibition in the countries where it was introduced caused considerable discouragement and uncertainty in the Swedish temperance movement. The rationing system (ration-book system) which was introduced during the years 1913—1917, partly with the co-operation of teetotallers, had never been unanimously accepted within the temperance movement and was subjected to ever-increasing criticism, chiefly from the point of view of the national psychology. With the object of drawing up and presenting a proposition for such a revision of legislation dealing with intoxicants as might bring about on quite different lines the complete disappearance of the abuse of spirits, a congress held in 1928 appointed a committee, the Temperance People's Legislation Committee. In its report, published in 1931, criticism was directed against the rationing system and attention was drawn to the unexpectedly good results of high taxation introduced in England and Holland, and particularly in Denmark, during the war and largely retained after-

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wards. This new line of approach, called the Danish system, subsequently gained more and more adherents in the Swedish temperance movement. After being in preceding decades generally opposed to proposals for increased taxes on spirits, the movement had thus now come to demand and work for such increase. At the same time differences of opinion arose as to the manner in which an increase in the tax on spirits should be striven for and imposed, especially as to whether the ration-book restrictions should be relaxed and removed in conjunction with or independent of heavier taxation.

The following observations may be made on the Swedish temperance associations.

The Order of Good Templars (The Grand Lodge of Sweden of IOGT) is the oldest and largest temperance association in this country (at present about 125,000 adult members). It has done pioneer work for the education of the people through its study-circle movement and its library service. The Good Templars have their own book-publishing establishment, publish a journal, "Reformatorn" (The Reformer), and organize gymnastic and athletic clubs. The Young People's Good Templars Association of Sweden (SGU) has over 11,500 members. The National Order of Good Templars (NTO) was formed in 1922 by the amalgamation of two organizations (The Order of Good Templars and The National Order of Good Templars, which in turn had come into being through members' breaking away from the IOGT). NTO has also devoted special attention to peace questions. The journal of the association is entitled "Templar-Kuriren" (The Templar Courier) and its young people's union is called Heimdal. NTO directs a people's college: Wendelsberg, at Mölnlycke outside Gothenburg. The number of older members amounts to 35,000. The Blue Ribbon Society of Sweden (Sv. Bbf) was founded in 1886 and works on the basis of the Christian religion. Its journal, "Blå Bandet" (The Blue Ribbon), is a weekly periodical like the two first-named. Its membership amounts to about 31,700. The Verdandi Temperance Order carries on its work on socialist lines and seeks to serve as a connecting link between the temperance and the labour movements. Its journal is entitled "Verdandisten" and the number of members is about 8,400.

The White Ribbon (VB) is the special temperance

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organization of the women. This organization was introduced into Sweden in 1900 and its membership is now 7,800. It has gone in for practical social work (temperance cafés, day nurseries, housewifery courses, etc.). The Total Abstinence Association of the Student Youth of Sweden (SSUH) is chiefly active among the children at schools and students but is also open to adults. Its journal is called "Polstjärnan" (Pole Star). Membership 3,400. Closely related to it is the Teachers' Temperance Society of Sweden (SLN), with about 3,300 members. SLN has devoted itself to promoting the teaching of temperance, particularly in elementary schools, and it has besides paid special attention to the use of tobacco and coffee among children and young people. Of more recent date, but larger, is The Motor Drivers' Total Abstinence Society (MHF) founded in 1926 and now possessing about 9,800 members. It includes not only professional chauffeurs but also other holders of driving licences. The Railwaymen's Total Abstinence Society (JHF) has about 2,300 members and co-operates closely with similar organizations in other countries. Finally there are The Police Officers' Total Abstinence Society of Sweden (SPHF, about 470 members), The Swedish Customs Officials' Total Abstinence Society (about 130 members) and The Temperance Society of Swedish Doctors (about 60 members).

Altogether Swedish temperance associations possessed in 1936 a membership of 227,921 adults. If the younger members are added, the total figure is 325,159. Then there are the fairly large numbers of teetotallers who do not belong to any temperance association but are connected with one or other of the Christian communities.

Buildings and meeting halls belonging to Swedish temperance societies number about 1,650, of which about 1,200 are houses of the Order of Good Templars.

To take care of common interests and aims and to provide for collaboration with the Christian communities' friends of temperance, the temperance associations have gradually formed a number of *collaborating organs*.

The oldest among these is The Central Association for Temperance Teaching (CFN), founded in 1901. The association aims not only at promoting temperance teaching in

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schools but also works for the enlightenment of the people generally. CFN organizes the lecture work on temperance questions subsidized by the State and publishes a periodical, "Tirfing". One of the members of the association's committee is nominated by the Government and also one of the auditors. The next in order of age is The Representative Union of Temperance Societies of Sweden, in existence since 1908. To begin with, this union was the organ of the Temperance Societies for taking political action to promote temperance, but soon after its formation it established a bureau, The Temperance Societies' Information Bureau (address: Tunnelgatan 19 A, Stockholm). Since it received a State grant the Representative Union of Temperance Societies has more and more avoided controversial political temperance subjects. Nowadays its main importance is as the supporting organization for the above-named bureau which gives information free of charge regarding liquor legislation, alcohol statistics at home and abroad, the temperance movement, literature, etc. To handle political work there was formed in 1921 a new organ, the National League of Friends of Prohibition, which has since 1930 borne the name of National League of Friends of Temperance of Sweden. This is not based on the temperance societies but on two group organizations, the above-mentioned Representative Union of Temperance Societies of Sweden and the Christian Communities Temperance Movement. The National League as a rule arranges a congress every fourth year, The National Assembly of Temperance People (formerly the Prohibition Congress), for the discussion of legislative aims. Likewise the National League organizes an annual Temperance People's Day, which is a day of country-wide agitation and meetings, usually on Ascension Day. The ten members of the National League Committee together with five members of the bourgeois parties' temperance group of the Riksdag and a similar number from the Social Democratic temperance group constitute the Delegation of Twenty, an organ for deliberation on temperance questions in the Riksdag. The Christian Communities' Temperance Movement (DKSN) was founded in 1920 and was then called the National Committee for the Christian Prohibition Movement. DKSN represents most of the Free Church communities, the Y. M. C. A. and the Diaconal Council of the Swedish Church, publishes a journal "Folkets Vål" (The People's

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Weal) and has been in receipt of a State grant since 1932. A newcomer among the co-ordinating organs is The National Committee against Illegal Trade in Intoxicants, founded in 1931 and also in receipt of a State grant. In its work of agitation and enlightenment regarding illicit distilling, spirit smuggling, transfer of ration-books, re-naturing of de-natured spirit, misuse of pharmacy spirit, etc. it has co-operated with the trade unions, the customs and police authorities, temperance committees, etc.

In a number of regions there are also local co-ordinating organs: central assemblies or co-ordinating committees consisting of representatives of the temperance societies and religious communities of the district, and nowadays also teetotal delegates of popular educational organizations, trade unions and political associations, etc. In most counties these local co-ordinating organs (in certain cases also temperance societies) are affiliated to a county league, which in its organization may be said to come under the National League of Friends of Temperance of Sweden.

2. Temperance Legislation.

During the early half of the 19th century very widespread abuse of "brännvin" or "snaps" prevailed in Sweden. One of the chief causes of this state of things was unrestricted home distilling. Towards the middle of the 19th century an increasing reaction against this set in. A decision of the Riksdag of 1853—54 restricted private distilling to a minimum, and shortly afterwards it was entirely abolished. The manufacture of brännvin was in many respects regulated, and special restrictions were imposed by an ordinance concerning the sale of brännvin. The means employed to check and repress the use of brännvin consisted partly of increasing duties on the manufacture and sale, partly of empowering the local authorities to prevent, through their executives, the establishment of retail spirit stores within their jurisdiction, and partly of imposing special restrictions with regard to hours of sale, etc. It is on the basis established by these enactments — the laws of 1855 governing the manufacture and sale of spirits — that Swedish liquor legislation has been systematically built up.

Ever since 1855, legislation has aimed at checking, and as far as possible reducing, the consumption of intoxicants. This aim is certainly

not expressly stated in the brännvin enactments of 1855 and subsequent years, but the tendency may be discerned behind all the measures relating to the subject that were taken during the latter half of the 19th century. In a Brännvin Sales Order of 1895 it was laid down that certain companies dealing in brännvin, which will be specially referred to later, were to have as their object, in the interests of morality, the regulation and control of the retail trade in alcoholic liquors. In this Order the aim was for the first time definitely stated in the text of a law. Through the Orders of 14th June, 1917 and 18th June, 1937, this provision was extended. Ch. 1, section 3, of the latter Order states that all sales of intoxicants must be effected in such a way as to cause the least possible harm. This provision not only applies to sellers but also to all who have to do with the granting of licences, their control and exercise. It applies to every kind of sale, whether by companies or private vendors. It must be regarded as giving the different organs comparatively extensive powers to intervene for the abolition or mitigation of such evils as may arise from the sale of liquors but have not been foreseen by the legislators.

The main interest in the present Swedish temperance legislation attaches to the Order of 14th June, 1917, relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors which, however, on 1st October, 1938 will be replaced by the Order of 18th June, 1937 on the same subject. Around these Orders, however, there are grouped various laws, ordinances, and regulations designed to regulate in different respects such conditions as it has been considered should be the subject of special legislation. Among these may be reckoned Orders concerning the manufacture of brännvin and malt beverages, the Order concerning the sale of light beer, the Orders governing trade in untaxed spirits and certain preparations containing alcohol, etc., an Act embodying special regulations concerning illegal dealing in spirits and wine, the Order relating to taxation on sales turnover and sale of alcoholic liquors for consumption on the premises, the Act on the treatment of inebriates, etc.

The Intoxicating Liquors Sales Order regulates the import and sale of intoxicating liquors, whether wholesale or retail.

According to the Order, intoxicating liquors are spirituous liquors and wine. By spirituous liquors is meant spirit and absolute alcohol, and also any other liquor containing alcohol, not derived from

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wine or malted liquor, and having an alcoholic strength exceeding $2\frac{1}{4}$ % of its volume. By wine is meant any beverage produced by alcoholic fermentation and manufactured from juice extracted from grapes, berries, fruit, or other parts of plants, of which the alcoholic strength is above $2\frac{1}{4}$ % but below 22 % by volume. The sale within the Kingdom, for the purpose of consumption, of malted beverages containing alcohol exceeding 3.2 % by weight, is prohibited by a special enactment. The sale of malted beverages of an alcoholic strength of between 1.8 and 3.2 % of the weight is regulated by a special statute, the Light Beer ("Pilsner") Sales Order of 1919.

As regards the granting of licences to sell spirits, the local authorities have been given wide powers. Thus under the 1937 Order a licence to retail intoxicants can be granted only by way of exception (for tourist traffic) if the application be opposed by the municipal council in towns, or by the communal meeting or council in the country. Licences are issued by the provincial governors, and these authorities are bound to impose such restrictions on the conduct of the retail sales as have been recommended by the local authorities. According to the ordinance of 1917 regarding sales, a similar municipal veto could be exercised in regard to all retail trade in intoxicants with the exception of retail selling on trains and boats.

In Swedish legislation on intoxicating liquors special attention is given to the question of the organization of the trade in intoxicants. The trade is divided into *w h o l e s a l e*, i. e. sales to retailers of what they require in their business and sales for export, and *r e t a i l*, by which is understood all other trade. *W h o l e s a l e* trade may be carried on by the manufacturers — who may not, however, sell their products within the Kingdom to any but a wholesale company especially constituted for that purpose and approved by the Government. These wholesale companies must not have for their object the earning of profits for their shareholders beyond a reasonable return on the money invested by them. All excess profits earned on the business of such a company are payable to the Treasury at the end of each calendar year. Any wholesale company is subject to such special control by the State authorities as shall be deemed necessary by the Government; furthermore, the State representatives on the board of the company shall be in the majority. At present the Government-licensed wholesale company is Aktiebolaget Vin- och Spritcentralen.

R e t a i l trade in intoxicants, with the exception of selling on

board passenger vessels or railway trains, as well as the serving of drinks under certain circumstances, may only be granted to a limited company (Systembolag — the System Company) specially constituted for the purpose and which may not be designed to pay dividends to the shareholders above a yearly return of, at the most, 5 % on the actual cash subscribed by them. According to the 1937 Order, the System Company's shareholders shall number at least ten and the board shall consist of five members, of whom two, the chairman and the vice-chairman, are appointed by the Liquor Control Board (see below), one by the provincial governor, one by the provincial council and one by the shareholders. By this arrangement public control is secured also in the management of the retail companies. The auditing of the accounts of retail companies is carried out with public co-operation, and the approval or otherwise of the accounts is dealt with by the Liquor Control Board. The system companies are likewise under obligation to pay their net profits to the Treasury.

Especially characteristic of Swedish intoxicating liquor legislation is the organization for the control and supervision of the retail trade in intoxicants. Among the duties of the provincial governors is that of supervising the observance of the regulations of the Sale of Intoxicants Order. The Liquor Control Board, an authority especially set up to supervise the manufacture and sale of intoxicants (cf. p. 40), also exercises control over the activities of the companies, which must observe its instructions regarding the administration of the company. Finally there is a local organ of supervision, the temperance Boards, consisting of persons whose function it is generally to supervise liquor consumption within their respective communes. In many cases it is the poor relief board which carries out the duties of temperance board; when a special temperance board is appointed, its members are appointed by the communal meeting or council or the urban district council.

As may have been inferred from the foregoing, one of the outstanding features of the organization of the sale of intoxicants in Sweden is that the dealers are deprived by law of interest in profits depending upon the size of turnover. This principle, however, is not applied to all sales of intoxicating liquor, the retail companies possessing the right to authorize private persons to serve liquor. Such private retailers have not the same liability as wholesale and retail concerns to pay in to the State Treasury all net profits. However,

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a regulation in the Sales of Intoxicants Order and subsidiary enactments restricts the possibility of private licensees' making profits. It is laid down that each private retailer is allowed to sell only certain quantities of spirits and wines at a profit; what he buys in excess of these quantities he has to purchase at retail prices. In regard to these



The Stockholm System: The Ration-book Registry.

"profit quantities", however, the Riksdag of 1937 resolved that they shall be entirely liquidated during a period of 25 years, after which a licensee will not be able to make any profit on the sale of spirituous liquors and heavy wines.

Formerly most of the liquor sold was served for consumption on the premises, a smaller proportion being sold for consumption off the premises. In consequence of the strong measures taken by the retailing companies against "on" sales, such sales gradually decreased, whilst the "off" sales steadily increased. At the beginning of the 20th century the "on" sales may be taken to have represented no more than 20 % and "off" sales 80 % of the volume of the trade. At the beginning of the present century the problem that remained for legislation to solve consisted in devising as effective measures as possible against the abuse that had arisen out of the "off" trade, while at the same time ensuring that those measures should not be such as to increase "on"

Temperance Work

consumption anew. In interested quarters much labour was expended on seeking a satisfactory solution of the above problem. It was out of these efforts that those projects were evolved for an individual control system for the "off" trade which were subsequently sanctioned by the Sale of Intoxicants Order now in force. This control system — often named the Stockholm System, or the Bratt System after its principal creator, Doctor Ivan Bratt — involves, briefly, that the selling organizations concerned shall know to whom they sell, what quantities they sell, and when they sell. These conditions require that a customer is not allowed to make his purchase at more shops than one, which will be assigned to him, and that a register is kept of all persons admitted as buyers. Any person who uses intoxicants to excess, or illegally traffics in such liquors, may be debarred from purchasing.

For operating the system of individual control the country is divided into control districts, each with a retail company as its centre of registration. At the offices of this company are kept (1) an alphabetically arranged central register containing particulars of all persons with whom the company has dealings; (2) a sales register, containing the names of approved customers in numerical order, and (3) a register of all purchases made. Before any person is accepted as a customer, various enquiries are made, e. g. as to his identity, his fitness from such points of view as may be pertinent, his requirements of spirits, etc. If he is approved as a customer, he receives a ration book ("motbok") containing a number of requisition forms which, bearing the customer's signature, are to be handed in when intoxicants are to be purchased. Payment is made in cash. Spirituous liquors must not be supplied to anyone of under 21 years of age, or in quantities exceeding 4 litres per calendar month, a quantity which, however, may under the 1937 Order be taken out also after the end of the month but not later than six months after. The company, however, is authorized, upon application in writing, and if special reasons exist, to allow a customer to purchase for a certain occasion a larger quantity than that prescribed by law. On account of special restrictions imposed by the companies, only a minor proportion of ration-book holders have an allowance of 4 litres per calendar month. At the present time about 80 % have a smaller allowance.

With regard to consumption on the premises,

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special restrictions were introduced with a view to counteracting an increase in such sales, at the same time as the above-mentioned restrictions as regards the retail selling were instituted. Thus spirits or heavy wines may not be supplied for immediate consumption to any person except one who may be supposed to be over 18 years and



The Stockholm System: A Public Restaurant.

is taking, or has taken, a proper meal on the premises. The maximum quantity which may be so served at any one meal is 15 centilitres ($\frac{1}{4}$ pint). Intoxicants may not be served for "on" consumption before 12 o'clock noon. Only by special permission may drinks be served later than 10 p. m. Generally speaking, the right to serve drinks has been extended to 11 or 12 p. m.

The retail sale of spirits is subject to various imposts payable to the State Treasury. On the spirits (brännvin) distilled within the country there is excise duty amounting to kronor 1:30 per litre of absolute alcohol. Foreign-manufactured spirit is subject to an import duty of at least kr. 2:— per litre of absolute alcohol; in cases where the percentage of alcohol is not ascertainable, the duty will be kr. 2:50, regardless of the alcoholic strength. There is, further, an

import *ad valorem*, of 60 %, assessed on the wholesale price of the article on all retail sales; over and above this, for serving liquor to customers there is an "on" sales duty of kr. 4:— per litre (for brännvin proper, this duty is only kr. 2:—, whilst no duty is chargeable on rectified brännvin not exceeding 40 % alcohol content). In addition there are the special fees payable by the wholesale and retail companies into the Treasury which have been referred to above. An idea of the ruling retail prices (in 1937) of certain kinds of liquors may be gathered from the following: 1 litre of 40 % rectified brännvin costs 4 kronor 35 öre, a pint bottle of Hennessy's brandy (one star) costs 11 kronor 95 öre, and a pint bottle of proprietary Scotch whisky costs about 13 kronor.

The liquor legislation now in force may claim most of the credit for the fall in consumption and the decrease in the convictions for drunkenness and cases of chronic alcoholism particularly in the last decade. The sale of alcoholic beverages, which in 1913 was computed at about 44.5 million litres, was only 25.7 million litres in 1922. Since then the consumption has increased and in 1931 amounted to 33.7 million litres. On account of depression in industry and increased taxation it fell to 27.5 million litres in 1933. With improvement in trade conditions consumption rose again in 1934 and 1935 and amounted in 1936 to 31.6 million litres. The consumption per head in 1913 was 6.9 litres of 50 % alcoholic strength, and in 1936, 4.4 litres at 50 %. Consumption of wine, which was estimated for 1913 at 0.56 litres per inhabitant, amounted in 1920 to 4.1 million litres (0.7 litre per head), in 1930 to 6.5 million litres (1.06 litres per head) and in 1936 to 5.3 million litres (0.8 litres per head). Consumption of beer (about 3 % by weight alcohol) which during the first half of the 1920's was between 22 and 23 litres per head, amounted in 1935 to about 21 litres per inhabitant. Offences connected with drunkenness amounted in 1913 to about 59,000. Since then they have gradually fallen, to about 31,000 in 1931 and about 30,500 in 1936.

3. Instruction and Propaganda for the Promotion of Temperance.

In Sweden it is prescribed that temperance instruction shall be given in all educational establishments which come directly under the supervision of the Central Board of Education, i. e. in every type

Instruction and Propaganda for the Promotion of Temperance

of school, with the exception of universities and colleges as well as certain private establishments, etc. It can be said that temperance instruction is prescribed for all schools controlled by the public authorities, where no special conditions or the youth of the pupils stands in the way.

The Government circular now in force (dated 1928) regarding temperance teaching prescribes as to its nature that it shall be "teaching suited to the pupils' comprehension concerning the effects of alcoholic liquor on the individual and the community". Further it is stated that temperance teaching shall be neutral from the point of view of religion, of politics and even of temperance policy. Bearing this in mind the teacher may "likewise deal with questions of temperance policy and point out to the young the value of personal abstinence from alcoholic drinks".

In addition the circular prescribes that, on the adoption of new text books in religious knowledge, nature study, biology and hygiene, history combined with sociology and citizenship or of new editions of existing books on these subjects, care must be taken that they "give a satisfactory presentation of the respective aspects of the alcohol question".

One question which arises in every country regarding temperance teaching is whether it should be given separately or along with the usual school subjects. In this country the circular on temperance teaching adopts the latter course: "temperance teaching shall be combined naturally with other subjects of instruction". In practice, however, the first-named course is also adopted, in that school subjects are from time to time replaced by special instruction or instructional lectures on the temperance question. The consent of the head master or head mistress concerned has of course to be obtained for such instructional lectures to be given.

No general investigations have been made concerning the application of the circular respecting temperance teaching, so that to form any opinion on the subject there are only sporadic experiences to go on. Temperance teaching is given in certain schools and certain classes, while it is neglected in others, and much yet remains to be done before it can be said to be general. The provisions of the circular have thus become in part a dead letter and its application requires to be made more effective.

In Sweden the expression temperance teaching or "continuation

temperance teaching" is used at times to refer to work of enlightenment carried on among adult persons, among the general public (courses, lectures, etc.). This section of Swedish propaganda work on the temperance question is undoubtedly more highly developed and more effective than the actual temperance teaching in the schools.

The State measures in this country for promoting temperance teaching apparently have no equivalent in many other countries, viz. two handbooks published by the Central Board of Education, namely a general handbook on the alcohol question and a manual for teachers, in addition to modern temperance-teaching posters, together with training and instructional courses arranged with the support of the State by the Central Association for Temperance Teaching (CFN). In 1936 the Riksdag approved a grant for the preparation of a new handbook on the alcohol question.

The courses consist of public general instructional courses for the public and teaching staffs and for persons engaged in municipal temperance work (the temperance boards), and of more comprehensive and detailed courses specially designed for teachers, leaders of youth organizations, military commanders, etc. (training, continuation and instructional courses).

In this country there have also been published on private initiative modern schoolbooks and courses of study for use in temperance teaching. Further, mention may be made of the assistance rendered by the correspondence course on the alcohol question arranged by the Co-operative Union (1935). This correspondence instruction has been of special use in the study circles of the temperance societies. The services of the radio in this country have also been enlisted in the work of enlightenment on the temperance question.

The supervisory authority in the field of State-subsidized temperance education is the Central Board of Education, which has a special official to advise on questions of temperance education and propaganda.

Theoretically temperance teaching stands on a firmer basis now than formerly. Firstly, medical research has proved beyond all doubt by numerous experiments that alcohol even in small quantities has a paralysing effect on the system. Secondly, in our modern technically progressive era, with its life of intense strain and especially the psychological effect on the individual, greater demands are made on personal self-control and presence of mind than formerly. Since alcohol in particular benumbs the faculties, its abuse may have even more disastrous effects nowadays than ever before.

VII. Public and Private Relief Work.

1. Public Poor Relief.

History. The early development of poor relief in Sweden does not differ greatly from that in other countries of Europe. In Catholic times the care of the poor was mainly in the hands of the Church and religious organizations, such as the monastic orders. The expenses were met out of the revenues of the ecclesiastical estates and out of gifts to the Church. At the beginning of the 14th century asylums and religious hostels arose, which took charge of all kinds of people in need of relief, the old and the sick, the lame and the maimed, orphans, mentally deficient, etc. With the Reformation the care of the poor became the business of the State, and the Church was deprived of the means whereby she could support the poor. At the same time the parish began to develop as an organized unit for the relief of the poor. However, up to the end of the 18th century poor relief — outside the asylums — was still principally based on private charity, though from time to time attempts were made to provide a system of organized poor relief.

During the 18th century public care of the sick was gradually separated from relief of the poor, when a large proportion of those needing care who had previously been nursed in the general asylums were moved to the provincial hospitals. In a Royal Ordinance of 11th April, 1763 the obligation of the parish to provide for its poor was expressly laid down. The expenses incurred were to be borne by the inhabitants in proportion to their other taxation. When the ordinance of 1763 was promulgated the question of the *d o m i c i l e* of the poor arose, and this has been a subject of much contention ever since. Determination of domicile establishes which commune is ultimately to *p a y f o r* the relief of any poor person. Specially with the increased need for poor relief arising in conjunction with the advent of industrialism, the question of domicile became a matter of importance in local politics. The communes have sought to prevent the influx of persons whom it was feared might become a charge on the local rates. In this respect the demand for workers for industry

and for large-scale agriculture conflicted with the interests of the settled peasant population.

From about the middle of the 19th century more far-sighted ideas began to take shape and even set their stamp on legislation at that time, and, following the famine years of the late eighteen-sixties, during which the costs of poor relief rose at a most alarming rate, there was issued as a reaction the Poor Relief Order of 1871, which is characterized by a strict limitation of the scope of compulsory poor relief, i. e. the cases where the poor relief boards are under obligation to give assistance. According to the Order, the rural poor relief areas were allowed, for the purpose of poor relief, in whole or in part, to be divided into wards, each responsible for its own poor relief. This Order remained in force for nearly half a century. It has been greatly criticized for its harshness, especially when its provisions were given a particularly strict interpretation by the authorities. Many cases of real necessity fell outside the scope of the law. Complaints were also made of the lack of expert and effective supervision of the administration of poor relief, of the complicated regulations as to domicile, of the inequality of the burden of poor relief on different communes, of the inconveniences of the ward system, etc. Grave abuses were reported in the press and public opinion was aroused. A strong reform movement grew up, led principally by a committee appointed in 1905 within the Central Association for Social Work and by the Swedish Poor Relief Association, which was formed at the first General Swedish Poor Law Congress in 1906 and is now known as the Swedish Poor Relief and Child Welfare Association. In 1907 the Government appointed a committee to draw up proposals for fresh legislation governing poor relief and the treatment of vagrants. On the basis of their proposals, submitted in 1915, the Poor Relief Act now in force was promulgated on 14th June, 1918, to which a number of amendments have since been made, the most important being that passed by the 1926 Riksdag, intended in the first place to restrict the number of legal actions in connection with poor relief matters.

By the Public Child Welfare Act, a minor who because of poverty or for other reasons may be in need of *care away from the home*, is no longer to be dealt with by the poor relief board. This transferred some 30,000 minors to the child welfare authorities.

The scope of poor relief has also been reduced by the National Pensions Act, in respect of relief to persons incapacitated from work and the aged, by the provisions for maternity grants, the public relief work for the involuntarily unemployed, etc. Various proposals put forward, for example, the recommendations of the Tax Equalization Committee of Inquiry, the Experts Committee on Organization, and others, have suggested radical alterations in the organization and financing of poor relief.

General Organization and Extent of Poor Relief. By the Poor Relief Act of 1918 it is still the commune which is the poor relief unit, i. e. has in the first place to provide and pay for poor relief. In contrast to earlier legislation, the Act lays down fully detailed regulations as to the organization of poor relief. With the assistance of the *Poor Relief and Child Welfare Advisers*, who are 9 in number, the provincial governors have to see that the poor relief within the province is properly administered. The *State Inspector of Poor Relief and Child Welfare*, who from 1st January, 1938 is the head of the Social Board's bureau for matters connected with poor relief, child welfare and the care of inebriates (the Second Bureau), (p. 37) also has to attend to the suitable organization of poor relief and promote its development. The inspector and the advisers are to give advice and information on questions pertaining to poor relief and child welfare. In every poor law community there must be a poor relief board, which in a rural district shall consist of at least three, and in a town of at least five, members, together with deputies. At least one of the members and one of the deputies shall be women.

Among other things the poor relief board shall decide in which cases and in what form poor relief shall be granted. The board is under obligation to supply what is requisite for the relief and care of destitute persons who on account of youth (under 16), old age, illness, disability, or other physical or mental defects, are incapable of supporting themselves by work and are in receipt of no other assistance (e. g. from relatives, employers, charitable institutions, provident funds or the like). In addition to this *obligatory relief* the board may grant what is called *voluntary relief*. The poor relief area may itself determine the principles on which to grant voluntary relief. If this has not been done, it is the duty of the

board to grant relief to the extent that it finds necessary. Refund of voluntary poor relief granted cannot be claimed from the person liable for maintenance, the place of domicile, the provincial council or the State.

Application for relief is made to the poor relief board in the commune in which the person concerned *is living*. Even if no application for relief is made, the board is bound to provide relief on learning that any person in the community is in distress. Since the Public Child Welfare Act, the board has in the main to provide relief only for children under age who are living with their parents. Children who are in need of care and support outside their homes come under the child welfare board.

Any necessitous person may appeal to the provincial governor if relief is entirely or partially refused, or if dissatisfied with the form in which relief is granted. The commune where the recipient of relief is living may obtain a refund to a certain extent from the commune in which he has his domicile. Domicile is determined from the annual census of occupiers of dwellings. In the majority of cases the commune of residence and the home commune coincide; when such is not the case legal proceedings often arise.

Parents are unconditionally liable to maintain children under age; the same liability applies to a man in respect of his wife. Parents and adult children are also under an obligation to support each other, in proportion as the one party needs it and the other has the means. This so-called conditional maintenance duty also applies to the wife in respect of her husband. The person liable for maintenance has to see to it that those entitled to maintenance do not become a charge on poor relief. Neglect of unconditional liability to maintain dependants may entail the imposition of work, usually at special workhouses. Refund of obligatory poor relief may be claimed from the person liable for maintenance.

Nature of Poor Relief. The chief forms of poor relief are outdoor relief, boarding-out in private homes, or institutional relief. The most usual form of relief is monetary outdoor relief. When relief cannot conveniently be given for use in the home, the board often boards out the needy person with people who are willing and suitable to maintain and care for him in return for a certain payment. The third form of poor relief

is care in an institution (indoor relief as opposed to outdoor relief). By the Poor Relief Act of 1918, the commune shall be entitled to arrange for care in a communal institution — home for the aged — for anyone who cannot conveniently be maintained in his home or be boarded out. Homes for the aged, characterized by suitability, orderliness and comfort, have been established in all parts of the country. In many cases communes have collaborated in the establishment of homes for the aged. These homes are more and more taking the place of relief institutions requiring farm work, and formerly usually known as poor houses. Poor relief legislation also provides for the establishment of another kind of institution, i. e. workhouses. These workhouses are to be established by the provincial councils and the towns not coming under a provincial council. They are intended in the first place for those in receipt of poor relief who are to some extent capable of work, who have been received into a home for the aged, but by reason of disorderly behaviour and refractoriness have to be removed from it; and in the second place for persons who have neglected their duty to maintain dependants. In the workhouses these latter persons are to be inspired with a better conception of their duty to those whom they are bound to maintain. They are put to work in the homes and kept there until there is good reason to suppose that they will in future provide for themselves and their dependants. But they may not, however, be kept there for an uninterrupted period of more than one year.

Those who neglect their maintenance duties and are recalcitrant and will not heed admonishments may be sentenced to compulsory labour. There are two penal workhouses in the country, one for men at Svartsjö and one for women at Landskrona. Further particulars about these institutions will be given later (p. 250).

Poor relief is to a certain extent to be regarded as a loan, not as a gift. When the recipient of poor relief is in a better financial position, he becomes liable to make refund to the poor relief board, if it is considered expedient. A commune may however decide that certain forms of relief shall not entail liability to repayment.

The board may also grant relief in other ways than those mentioned. For example, it may pay the fees for the care of the poor in hospitals, mental hospitals, tuberculosis sanatoria, epileptic homes, homes for inebriates, rest and convalescent homes; procure cheap or free dwellings for the needy, etc. The Poor Relief Act calls on communes to

Public and Private Relief Work

try to influence their inhabitants to provide against want in case of incapacity for work, illness, etc., by taking out insurances, joining sickness funds, deposits in savings banks, etc. In other ways also the board must try by suitable measures to obviate the need for poor relief in the future.



Home for the Aged in a small Town.

Control and Inspection. To assess the need for poor relief and to exercise inspection over those in receipt of relief, the poor relief area should, when necessary, be divided into districts, each under the immediate supervision of a member of the poor relief board. To supplement the board, however, there may be called in qualified men and women resident in the area, who if necessary may be formed into special boards. In most areas the work is dealt with — whether there be division into districts or not — entirely by the chairman of the board and the other members. These provisions are intended to form a basis for what is known as the *Elberfeld system*. This is characterized by extensive reliance on voluntary

helpers, relief workers and, in consequence, the decentralization of the work. The commune is usually divided into districts, these again into sub-districts with a relief-worker for each sub-district. The sub-districts are so small that, as a rule, only a few cases of relief (4—5) fall to each relief worker. The relief worker has to keep himself informed of the conditions of the poor in his sub-district. The relief workers of the district meet at regular intervals, usually twice a month, to decide upon poor relief. In cases of urgent necessity the relief worker himself may give relief, generally after consultation with the supervisor for the district. The communal poor relief board which superintends poor relief in its entirety makes decisions regarding admittance to institutions and confirms the decisions of the district committees. The principles of the system have also been adopted in the organization of the work of the large charitable institutions.

Characteristic of the *relieving officer system*, as opposed to the Elberfeld system, is that the entire work is carried out by salaried relieving officers, who naturally have great influence on the manner in which poor relief is administered. The system originated in England. According to the original system the applicant is received by an officer, who makes investigations into his earnings, character, etc. A report is drawn up and submitted to the board, which decides as to relief.

An intermediate position is taken by the *mixed system*, which combines the best points of both the systems just mentioned, and in which the preliminary investigation to decide on the form of relief is in the hands of salaried officers versed in poor relief legislation. The chief task of the voluntary workers has been to exercise a more personal supervision over and care of the poor. The relieving officer system and the mixed system have steadily gained ground at the expense of the Elberfeld system, which nowadays is rarely found without modification.

Poor Relief in Stockholm is regulated by the instructions to the Stockholm Poor Relief Committee dated 19th March, 1920 with later amendments. In 1931 a thorough reorganization of the capital's outdoor poor relief was decided upon.

The Poor Relief Committee is the chief directing body for the whole public poor relief of the capital. In the different parochial



Home for the Aged in a large rural Commune (Västmanland).



A small Home for the Aged in a rural District (Stockholm County).

Public Poor Relief

areas there are special poor relief boards, appointed by the Committee, which have the supervision and personal care of the poor in the parishes and to a certain authorized extent can themselves grant relief (not institutional) and certain other forms of assistance, or else propose to the Committee such measures as are needed. The



Home for the Aged on the "Allotment" Colony System (Gammelbyn, Stockholm).

parochial board has also to administer private donations made for the poor of the parish and other resources. The city is divided into poor relief districts, each comprising one or more parochial board areas, and each district has a district bureau with a manager. This bureau, the executive organ of the board, has to prepare and present all matters to be dealt with by the local parochial board and is authorized in urgent cases to make decisions in the intervals between board meetings. The question of institutional care is in the hands of special commissioners appointed within the Committee, who also have other duties.

The chief official of the Poor Relief Committee is the Poor Relief Director, who is head of the city's poor relief as a whole. He is assisted by a Poor Relief Inspector, who as reporter to the above-mentioned commissioners is the chief director of indoor relief.

Cost of Poor Relief. The greater part of the cost of poor relief is borne by the communes, although refund in whole or in part is made by the provincial council for the care given to the sick in hospitals and cottage hospitals, and for certain categories of the sick and abnormal, i. e. the mentally diseased and mentally defective, epileptics, tubercular cases, the crippled, and chronic or incurable cases (mainly only for persons treated in hospital institutions). In addition the State refunds the commune for the care of recipients of relief who are not Swedish citizens, or whose domicile cannot be determined, or who, under certain circumstances, have lived without intermission at least 3 years outside the poor relief community in which they are domiciled.

Other Functions. By various statutes the poor relief boards have also been allotted tasks which are connected with the general activities of the board, e. g. by the Act relating to communal pension increments, etc. 14th June, 1918 (last amendment 1936), the Act providing for the alleviation of costs incurred by those of slender means in caring for mentally diseased or deficient persons and epileptics 2nd May, 1919, the Act governing the treatment of inebriates 12th June, 1931, (by which the temperance board is constituted by the poor relief board, if a special one has not been created), and the Child Welfare Act of 6th June, 1924 (in a certain manner an augmented poor relief board may with the Government's consent function as the child welfare board in smaller communes).

Pending a new law governing the treatment of vagrants, certain enactments relating to begging have been provisionally included in the transitional provisions of the Poor Relief Act.

Poor Relief Convention with the Other Northern Countries. By the Poor Relief Convention with Denmark, Finland and Norway, ratified by Sweden on 26th October, 1928, the four countries have pledged themselves to give relief to subjects of the other three countries who may become necessitous while within their borders, in accordance with the regulations in force for their own subjects. Compensation from the native country for the expenses of poor relief has thereby extensively taken the place of the repatriation formerly practised.

Statistical Data. According to the report of the Central Statistical Office, "Poor Relief for the Year 1934", the poor relief areas in

Public Poor Relief

Sweden then numbered 2,522, of which 114 were towns. Division into districts existed in 1,144 of the rural and 93 of the urban poor relief areas. In the same year there were 1,127 homes for the aged without farms and 338 with farms; the former group accommodated 30,399, the latter 13,355. The number of recipients of poor relief in 1934 was 554,536, of whom 329,249 in rural districts and 225,278 in the towns. The proportion of recipients of relief to total population was 8.90 %. In 18 areas the number of recipients represented 20 % of the population, while in 6 there were no recipients. The majority of the recipients were of the female sex. This proportion varies widely at different ages. In the case of children the number of boys exceeds that of girls, but in the older classes the women preponderate largely. Although since 1926 a good half of all the children maintained have ceased to be returned in the poor relief statistics, as after the coming into operation of the Child Welfare Act within the commune they were transferred to the sphere of the child welfare board, the number of children in receipt of relief was no less than 177,399. Besides a small number of children in receipt of direct relief there were those supported indirectly, i. e. through parents or relatives. The greatest number of children relieved was in Norrland. Of all the children relieved 10 % were born out of wedlock. In percentage of population the number of recipients was greatest in the forestry areas, 10.16 %, least in the farming areas, 5.71 %. In "industrial and other areas" the figure was 9.51 %, in "mixed areas", 7.76 %.

Where the cause of the necessity for poor relief was of a temporary nature, the relief is put under the heading *temporary*, in other cases *permanent*. Relief of the latter kind represented 55.3 % of the total relief. Those in receipt of permanent relief numbered 306,409, of temporary 248,127. Of those receiving relief 439,801 (74 % of the whole) obtained outdoor relief, 77,849 received attention in nursing institutions of various kinds (13 %) and 47,682 (8 %) in poor relief institutions. The main reasons for requiring relief in new cases in 1934 were sickness and insufficient capacity for work and, next to those, unemployment.

The total gross value of relief granted in 1934 was 89,900,000 kr. The value of the average relief per month per recipient of permanent relief was in poor law institutions 57 kr., in nursing institutions 42 kr. (not including *hospital treatment*), and outdoor relief 26 kr.

Social Register. In conjunction with the creating of new branches of activity in public relief work certain deficiencies have gradually arisen, demanding early attention, more especially as regards collaboration in the various branches of the work. In view of this there was appointed in 1929 a special commission, known as the Organization Experts, which in 1934 presented a proposal that the different social organs in a commune should be amalgamated into one, a social committee; this committee was to compile a central register of relief. The proposal for a social committee encountered, however, strong opposition. It was considered that satisfactory collaboration could be obtained only by arranging in each commune a register for relief activities as a whole. In conformity herewith there was drafted a Bill for a social register, which was passed by the 1936 Riksdag and came into force on 1st January, 1937.

According to the Act there shall be kept in each commune by the poor relief board or such other communal body as the commune may appoint a register (social register) covering relief activities in the commune. As far as can be seen at the time of writing, it would appear that in the greater proportion of communes this register will be kept by the poor relief boards. In the social register shall be entered the names of those who receive relief or other assistance through any communal organ, as well as of persons residing in the commune who are in receipt of supplementary pensions in conformity with the National Pensions Act or maintenance in accordance with the Invalidity Relief Order; the same applies to persons who are in receipt of allowance for blindness or of sick benefit from the Pensions Board. Finally those persons shall be registered who receive assistance in other forms, but only to the extent that the body keeping the register becomes cognizant of it and considers that the case should be entered. The aim of this provision is, among other things, to keep a record of benefits from private relief work. It has been deemed desirable that such benefits should also be entered in the record, but it has not been considered possible to make any binding stipulations on this point.

The entry shall give particulars of the reason for and nature of the relief and the period covered, as also the scope thereof; in addition there shall be stated briefly other circumstances which may be of service when judging a question of further assistance to the person concerned.

Any organ of the commune which decides to extend relief to a certain person shall immediately communicate the decision to the organ keeping the register. Before decision is arrived at respecting relief measures to a certain person, there shall be obtained from the social register in the commune all particulars relating to that person.

2. Public Child Welfare.

History. At the period when the community began more systematically to look after its needy members no distinction was made between the different categories: the old and infirm, the sick and the unprotected children. The result of this was that in earlier times it devolved upon the poor law authorities to look after the interests of children in need of care and treatment. The first beginning of special legislation for the care and treatment of children is to be seen in a Decree promulgated by Gustavus II Adolphus, in the year 1624, to the effect that the children should be distinguished from the adult paupers, and that on their behalf urban and rural homes should be established.

The somewhat brief provisions in respect of child welfare which were embodied in poor relief legislation and in a few scattered enactments relating to the duty of parents towards their children received an important addition when, by the Elementary School Act of 1842, school attendance was made compulsory and free of charge.

At the end of the 19th century a rapidly increasing interest was observed in the question of the care and treatment of children, and in the year 1902 the first child welfare legislation was passed: the Act concerning the care of foster children and the Act concerning the education of vicious and morally defective children. Much earlier, however, enactments had been passed which related to the protection of children in particular respects, e. g. in respect of their employment in industrial work, and later on prohibitions were promulgated against the sale of intoxicating liquor to children and young people, decrees for protecting children against the dangers of the cinema, etc., and, as a link in criminal legislation, enactments relating to juvenile offenders, and later, in 1935, relating to juvenile imprisonment.

Organizations and Aims. The present child welfare legislation, in the proper sense of the term, *the Act relating to public child welfare and protection of the young* (the *Child Welfare Act*) dates from 6th June, 1924. This was amended and extended in 1934, including provisions relating to young people between the ages of 18 and 21, and in 1936 concerning the organization of protective homes, this last to come into force on 1st January, 1938. According to this Act the child welfare work of the community is in the first instance placed in the hands of communal institutions, the child welfare committees, which on taking over the work of protection of young people may be called the young people's committees.

The *child welfare committee* has carefully to follow the conditions relating to children's welfare and upbringing in the commune, and to see that those children who are *resident* in the commune and are living in such conditions as to make it incumbent upon the committee under the Child Welfare Act to intervene are looked after by the committee. The committee also has to work for the improved care and treatment of children and young people, and for that purpose to try to further the establishment and extension of children's homes and institutions for home upbringing, and also take other measures for the welfare of children and young people. Furthermore, the child welfare committee has to perform certain functions for securing to children born out of wedlock their special legal rights, of which more below (p. 233).

The child welfare committee shall consist of: a member of the communal poor relief board, a clergyman, a teacher — male or female —, and at least two other men or women known for their interest in and zeal for the welfare of children and young people, and in some instances also a medical man. At least one member of the committee must be a woman. In cases where this is possible, legal knowledge should be represented on the committee. Smaller communes may for a certain period, or until further notice, be exempted by Royal Decree from the obligation of having a separate child welfare committee. In such instances the committee is composed of the local poor relief board, reinforced by a clergyman and a male or female teacher.

Provisions have been laid down to arrange, where such is deemed necessary, proper distribution of the work: the division of the commune into districts, making use of assistants, either voluntary or paid, etc. The importance of co-operation with other communal

authorities and with societies and institutions has also been emphasized. As relief has to be paid by the poor relief board in the case of children remaining at home, and it may frequently be somewhat difficult to decide which form, relief or care, is the right one, close co-operation with the board is particularly important. It is therefore laid down by law that one of the members of the board must also be on the child welfare committee, and that in case of doubt as to which body is competent, the matter shall be referred to a committee consisting of that member who under the law has a place on both, and one member from each of them — this in order to obviate possible disagreement.

Application to call on the child welfare committee (young people's committee) to take action can be made by anybody, and certain public officials, as well as medical men and midwives, are under an obligation to lay information.

The direct work of the child welfare committee, under the Act of the 6th June, 1924, includes *partly* the taking charge of children for protective upbringing or public care, *partly* the supervision of the care of foster children and adopted children. (The duty of granting relief to children living in their parents' homes or the equivalent devolves upon the poor relief board.)

The difference between "protective upbringing" and "public care" may briefly be stated as follows: The condition calling for protective upbringing is the existence of such serious abuses that the community is entitled to take action even *against* the wish of the parents. In order to justify public care, on the other hand, the conditions need not be so serious as those just indicated, but they must at least be such that the community ought not to neglect the duty of providing help *with* the consent of the parents, by assuming the care of the child.

For *protective upbringing*, according to § 22 of the Act, charge shall be taken of: a) children below 16 years of age who are ill-treated in their parents' homes or exposed to serious neglect or some other danger to life or health; b) children of the said age who, by reason of the parents' moral depravity, neglect, or incapacity to bring up children, run the risk of becoming vicious; c) children below the age of 18 who are found to be so vicious that they are in need of special upbringing for reclaiming them; d) persons aged between 18 and 21 years who are found to be inclined to an irregular, idle or dis-

solute manner of living and concerning whose reform special measures are called for on the part of the community.

The last-mentioned category of young people, formerly dealt with under the Vagrancy Act, have by amendment to the Act of 1934 been transferred to the Child Welfare Act.

When resort to protective upbringing is called for, certain preliminary measures shall be adopted, so that removal from the home is not resorted to until it has been found impossible to right the matter any other way. Before the question of taking charge of a young person, the parents shall be given an opportunity of expressing an opinion, and the child too, if over 15 years of age. If the parents do not consent to the carrying out of the decision the matter should be submitted to the provincial governor, and this is always done in the case of the young persons referred to in § 22 d) (see above).

The age of legal responsibility is 15 years, and young people between the ages of 15 to 18 who have been guilty of some offence are dealt with under special provisions in the Penal Code. The result is that anomalies may arise between the Penal Code and the Child Welfare Act. Instead of notifying the offence to the public prosecutor with a view to action before a court of law there is now a possibility of resorting to the frequently more appropriate step of applying to the child welfare committee with a view to protective upbringing: such upbringing, however, should never stand in the way of a court's sentence of punishment or to a term in a reformatory.

Public care shall be given to needy, sick, and helpless children, viz. a) children below the age of 16 who are living at home and by reason of their parents' illness, indifference or incapacity, or otherwise of conditions prevailing in the home, are exposed to distress, without the conditions for protective upbringing arising, b) children below the age of 16 who, as the result of physical or mental disease, infirmity, or some other bodily or mental weakness, are in need of special care outside their homes, such as cannot be provided by their parents, c) children below the age of 16 who are in need of care on account of their parents' desertion or death.

The provision of public care requires that the need for care cannot be met otherwise and in the case of a) and b) that the parents give consent.

With respect to the *t r e a t m e n t* of children taken charge of it has been laid down that "the person taken charge of by a child

welfare committee shall receive the necessary care and also such upbringing as is likely to make him a useful member of society". The measures adopted must of necessity vary considerably. For a child that is not vicious the committee must first try to find accommodation in a private family "with persons as to whose suitability and ability to fulfil the duties devolving upon them in each case the committee, through previous inquiry, has satisfied itself". In the event of no such home being available, or in the event of special circumstances existing by reason of which the child concerned ought not to be cared for in a private home, the child should be handed over to a children's home. Vicious children shall as a rule be put in a protective home. In exceptional cases they may be handed over to the care of private families or of children's homes. — Persons coming under § 22 d) shall be admitted to protective homes or public training institutions, but may instead be handed over to private homes, or the like. Children who by reason of physical or mental disease, infirmity or some other bodily and mental defect or weakness are in need of special care and treatment, shall be given by the committee such care as their condition calls for in an institution adapted to the purpose or elsewhere.

If no immediate decision can be arrived at with regard to the most suitable form of care for a child that has been taken charge of, the child shall be temporarily admitted into a *hostel*.

Public care is given up to the maximum age of 16, protective upbringing up to the age of 18, with the exception of inmates of protective homes, who may be detained until the age of 21. Persons taken charge of under § 22 d) shall be discharged from protective upbringing not later than two years from the date of being taken charge of; nevertheless, if special circumstances warrant it, the discharge may be postponed for a further period not exceeding one year.

Foster children are, according to the Act, children below the age of 16 who, against payment, are brought up by some one other than their parents or by a duly appointed guardian, who has the custody of the child. Children of the said age admitted into a children's home are reckoned as foster children, even if no payment is made for them.

Children other than the above may be declared by the committee to be foster children if there is considered to be need for supervision

and they are being brought up away from their parents or their duly appointed guardian.

There are no provisions making it compulsory to obtain a permit beforehand for receiving foster children, but on the other hand notice of the reception of the foster child must be given to the committee within a very brief space of time — in a town or borough with its own administration within two days, and elsewhere within eight days. The committee is obliged, immediately after notice has been given, to have an inquiry made into the character of the home.

If the child welfare committee finds that the child is not receiving satisfactory care, and if this cannot be righted by proper representations, it shall instruct the foster parent to hand over the child to the person who is legally responsible for its care. If this cannot conveniently be done, or if the removal of the child cannot be delayed, the committee itself shall take charge of the child and proceed as in the case of a child that has been taken charge of to be given public care.

The committee can prohibit the foster parent who has been ordered to hand over a foster child from taking care of foster children in future. A person who is assumed to have the intention of receiving a foster child, and whom the committee knows to be unsuitable for the custody of children, can be forbidden to do so; and finally a prohibition can be issued (even in advance) against the reception of a child in an insanitary home.

Advance Allowance. By a decision of the Riksdag in 1937 a system has been devised for advancing funds for the maintenance of certain children. A child whose father is liable according to a decision of the Court or a written agreement witnessed by two persons to contribute towards the maintenance of the child is entitled, after the expiry of the due date of the contribution without its having been paid, to receive out of the public funds an advance on the contribution — called an advance allowance. This benefit accrues mainly in favour of children born out of wedlock and of children belonging to divorced parents and who have not yet reached the age of 16. The amount advanced is equivalent in the main to the lower contribution amount. The advance may not however exceed the sum fixed by the Court or by agreement. The advance allowance is reduced in proportion to the income of the person responsible for the

child. The amount advanced is afterwards claimed by the Treasury from the child's father. Advances are dealt with by the child welfare committees and are granted for one year at a time. The costs are defrayed as to $\frac{3}{4}$ by the Treasury and as to $\frac{1}{4}$ by the commune whose child welfare committee has granted the advance.

Cost. As to the costs connected with the care of children by the community, the child welfare committee has its own budget and itself takes steps to obtain refund where the right exists. Expenses incurred for a child below the age of 16 who has been taken charge of have the same effect as regards domicile as is provided for in respect of poor relief under section 1 in the Poor Relief Act. Parents are under liability to refund the costs for their children taken charge of by the child welfare committee, but not more than 1.000 kronor per annum. Costs incurred by the child welfare committee after a child taken charge of for protective upbringing attains 16 years must be refunded by the parents to the extent of their means; liability to refund does not exist when action is taken under § 22 d). In case of a refund a certain amount shall be fixed, which the person or persons who are liable have to contribute at specified dates towards the care and maintenance of their children as long as they are in the custody of the committee. The amount of the refund is stipulated in an agreement drawn up in writing and witnessed by two persons; if no such agreement is arrived at, the committee applies to the provincial governor to fix the amount of the contribution.

The provisions of the Poor Relief Act relating to reimbursement by a provincial council or the State in respect of the expenses incurred for the maintenance at institutions for the abnormal, cripples, sick, etc., likewise apply to the expenses incurred by the commune for the care and maintenance of children admitted into such institutions. Contributions towards charges in protective homes are paid by the provincial council, and the State pays contributions for the boarding out of children who have been taken charge of for protective upbringing but are not placed in a protective home. Expenditure incurred by the commune for a person taken charge of under § 22 d) is refunded by the State. (When the State assumes responsibility for the activities of the protective homes on 1st January, 1938, see p. 232, other arrangements will come into operation.)

Under the Poor Relief Convention with other Northern

countries, referred to on page 220, *expenses incurred for children who are taken charge of in Sweden* under the Child Welfare Act (as from 1st January, 1936 the Child Welfare and Protection of the Young Act) are deemed to be on a par with poor relief. The Convention, however, does not cover expenses for children taken charge of under the same Act for *protective upbringing*.

Consequences for Neglectful Parents. Neglect on the part of the parents of their duty of maintenance may, as under the provisions of the Poor Relief Act, lead to *compulsory labour*. In the Child Welfare Act compulsory labour is laid down for: a) any person who, through immorality, negligence, idleness, or indifference, neglects his duty towards his children below the age of 16 in such a way that protective upbringing or public care and maintenance has to be resorted to, and who also neglects the fulfilment of his liability to refund expenses, b) any person who has been ordered by a court of law, or undertakes by an agreement in writing, witnessed by two persons, to contribute as required by law towards the maintenance of his child below the age of 16 years, but who through idleness or indifference omits to fulfil this duty and thereby causes such neglect of the maintenance and upbringing which legally are the right of the child that special steps against the defaulter are found necessary in order to enforce the execution of the duty of maintenance. Regarding the method of imposing compulsory labour, etc. the stipulations are the same as for corresponding cases under the Poor Relief Act (see the preceding chapter).

Institutions. Regarding institutions for those taken charge of under the Child Welfare Act, a distinction is made, as stated above, between protective homes and children's homes. In the Act it is provided that a *protective home* for vicious children shall be established in every provincial council area and town not forming part of a provincial council. The number of such homes is at present 39 (22 for male and 17 for female pupils) with a total accommodation for 1,523. Of these, 7 are intended for such pupils as by reason of their age or the nature of their viciousness ought not properly to be brought up in the ordinary homes. Of these, two (one for males and one for females) are for young people taken charge of under § 22 d). For vicious juveniles who are also physically or mentally defective — with-

out however being mentally diseased, imbeciles, or epileptics — there are likewise special homes. Under the Act of 1936, which comes into force on 1st January, 1938, the responsibility for protective homes has in principle been taken over by the State, and the protective homes have been differentiated by dividing them into three main categories: *school homes* for children of school age, *occupational homes* for the older boys and *domestic schools* for the older girls.

The State has set up two institutions for vicious imbecile or epileptic children, one for boys and one for girls.

There are two general State institutions for the training of juvenile offenders between 15 and 21 years of age, one for males established by the State and one for females established by the Deaconess Institute at Ersta, which is approved by the State for the purpose.

In 1936 it was decided to establish an institution for youths between the ages of 18 and 21 sentenced to juvenile imprisonment (see p. 261).

The *children's homes* proper vary greatly in respect of both size and organization; some are intended to provide permanent care, while others are homes for the temporary care or observation of children (hostels). Altogether there are 340 children's homes with accommodation for 7,200. Among hostels are included also those homes established for infant children and their mothers who may be without a home of their own; the first home of this description was established in 1901 and has been followed by many of the same kind, both communal and private. They also include children's dispensary homes (for children threatened with tuberculosis).

The establishment of children's homes is presumed to be done voluntarily by communes, provincial councils or private persons. When a children's home is to be established by a commune or by a provincial council, a plan for the home shall be drawn up and submitted to the provincial governor. With regard to *private* children's homes, according to an amendment of 29th May, 1931 to the Child Welfare Act, application shall be made to the provincial governor for permission both for the establishment of such a home and also for effecting more radical changes in the organization, removal, change of manager, etc. Supervision of all children's homes in a commune devolves in the first place on the child welfare committee, which also has to take action where abuses are reported; it rests, however, with the provincial governor to order the closing down of a children's home.

Some provincial councils have established special institutions of different kinds for children in need of care, and the majority of the larger communes have children's homes either for permanent or temporary care. Furthermore, Sweden possesses a very large number of private institutions and societies working for the furtherance of child welfare.

As to institutions for the support of home upbringing etc., see the chapter on Private Charity (p. 237).

Supervisory Authorities and Private Child Welfare Organizations. The supervision of the public care and welfare of children is, under the Child Welfare Act, vested in the provincial governors, assisted by the poor relief and child welfare advisers (p. 213). The supervision of the protective homes is provided for by special provisions and is performed by the *Protective Homes Inspector*. After the 1st January, 1938, he is to be under the control of the Social Board's bureau for poor relief, child welfare and the care of inebriates. For the rest it is the duty of the *State Inspector of Poor Relief and Child Welfare* to see to the proper working of child welfare and to further its development.

Active support for the establishment of hostels and of an agency for providing foster homes is given by the General Children's Home in Stockholm, the work of which has been re-organized in accordance with new regulations for the Children's Home issued by the Government on the 29th November, 1930. The considerable resources of the Children's Home are now utilized chiefly for lending financial support for the purpose in question. To deal with similar activity in the provinces there have been formed in all provinces *Provincial Child Welfare Societies*, which employ child welfare agents.

No less valuable support is given to child welfare by the General Inheritance Fund, which annually distributes relief so far as its resources permit, both to institutions and to private persons with large families.

There is also a private central organization engaged in child welfare work, viz. the child welfare department of the *Swedish Poor Relief and Child Welfare Association*, which places its information bureau at the service of the authorities and private persons; it makes inquiries; arranges for meetings for the purpose of giving information and instruction; has arranged in Stockholm a permanent child welfare ex-

hibition; and publishes a journal, "Journal for Child Welfare and the Protection of Juveniles", etc. It works in two sections, one general social, with an information bureau in charge of a child welfare adviser, and one social medical.

So-called *child welfare bureaus* have been established in Stockholm and other places, their task being to act as central bureaus to which the public can apply for advice on the care of children. The bureaus try to take action in cases of child neglect, bring about co-operation between different organizations, etc. Some of these bureaus are communal, others private.

The Northern Federation for Child Welfare and the Protection of Juveniles, also the International Association for the Promotion of Child Welfare, as well as the "Save the Children" International Union, have had Swedish sections ever since their inception.

Statistical Data. According to the report of the Central Statistical Office entitled "Public Child Welfare in 1934", the 2,520 child welfare committees of the country during the year in question dealt with 77,305 children distributed as follows: taken in hand for *precautionary* measures 2,001, taken in hand for *protective upbringing* 6,150, ditto for *public care* 36,830, *foster children* under supervision 32,324.

The gross cost of child welfare accounted for by the communes amounted to 11,483,052 kronor.

The Act on Children Born out of Wedlock. Swedish legislation on family rights has undergone a far-reaching revision during the last two decades, great attention being paid to the rights of the children and the social importance of protecting them. In this respect may be specially mentioned the Act of the 14th June, 1917, relating to children born out of wedlock.

Under this Act, the child born out of wedlock occupies towards its mother the same legal position as a child born in wedlock towards its parents. The father's legal position towards the child is chiefly characterized by his duty to contribute towards the child's maintenance. If the child was born while the parents were betrothed, it is however entitled to bear the father's family name, and to inherit after him, besides which the father in such case is entitled to inherit after the child. In the same position as a child born during the betrothal of the parents is a child concerning which the father has

declared, in the stipulated form, that it shall be entitled to the same right to inherit from him as a child born in wedlock.

The mother has the custody of the child and is its guardian, and the child as a rule bears her family name. If the mother is unfitted to have the custody of the child, the court transfers the custody to the father or some other specially appointed guardian.

The parents' duty to maintain the child does not as a rule cease until the child has reached the age of 16, nor later than its 18th year, but may continue longer if the child's abilities and the parents' financial position make it desirable for the child to be given further education. The child has to be brought up on a scale compatible with the position of the two parents. If their position is dissimilar, a suitable mean has to be found for fixing the maintenance. The father is, further, obliged to contribute towards the mother's support during a certain period both prior to and after her confinement.

Perhaps the most important provision under the Act is that for every such child there is appointed a *child welfare guardian*. This person shall not take the place of the mother, but shall assist her with advice and information and see that the child's rights and best interests are duly protected. His duty is especially to see that the child's parentage is established and that its maintenance is assured. The same person is entitled to sue on behalf of the child in respect of paternity, maintenance, and guardianship. This person, appointed by the child welfare committee, retains his position as a rule until the child has reached the age of 18; the committee may, however, release him if it decides that there is no further need of him. By special provisions, care has been taken that the child welfare committee shall be informed at the earliest possible moment of the birth of a child out of wedlock, so that a person can be appointed without delay to look after its welfare. If the mother reports her pregnancy the appointment of a child welfare guardian is made prior to birth. This office is held sometimes by voluntary workers, who are not paid for their work, or else by persons, either male or female, paid by the commune.

An agreement as to maintenance shall be drawn up in writing and approved of by the child welfare guardian; such an agreement drawn up in proper legal form has the same legal effect as a decision pronounced by a court of law. An agreement embodying a clause for the payment of a lump-sum must be approved of by the child welfare

committee; the latter shall also take charge of the amount in question and decide as to its administration.

An acknowledgment of paternity, and possibly of the fact that the child was born while the parents were betrothed, shall either be made by way of such an agreement as has just been mentioned, or before a clergyman, public prosecutor or notary public; the acknowledgment shall be confirmed by the mother. The father's declaration as to the child's right of inheritance is likewise made before a clergyman, public prosecutor or notary public or else in a written document witnessed by two persons and submitted to either the welfare guardian or the welfare committee.

If the question of paternity and maintenance cannot be settled amiably, legal proceedings must be taken. Anyone who has cohabited with the mother at a time when the child may have been conceived is regarded as the father. The court is entitled either to require the person indicated as the father to deny the charge on oath, or, if the mother is considered to be more trustworthy, to require her to state on oath that cohabitation between them has taken place at a certain time stated in the affidavit. The defendant may not raise an objection to the effect that at the time in question the mother has also cohabited with another man.

By the Act of 26th May, 1933 relating to blood tests in cases of paternity of children born out of wedlock, which came into force on 1st July, 1933, the putative father is entitled to demand that a test shall be made in order to determine whether in view of the nature of his and the mother's and the child's blood groups the possibility that the child was begotten by him may be deemed to be excluded. If the mother does not voluntarily submit to the test, she can be compelled to do so under pain of penalty.

Information supplied by a number of communes of differing character shows that the paternity of children born out of wedlock was established in 93 % of the total number of cases. In the great majority of these cases (about 90 %) paternity was established by admission, in the remainder (about 10 %) by judgment of the court. — Blood tests for proof of paternity carried out at the State Juridico-chemical Laboratory numbered in 1935 764; in 99 of these cases it was possible to free the putative father from the allegation of paternity (14.3 %).

The Adoption Act. This Act, dated the 14th June, 1917, gives an opportunity to the person so desiring to adopt a child under legal conditions of essentially the same nature as the relations between natural parents and their children. The adopting parent is thus granted the custody and guardianship of the child, and has to bring up the latter according to his or her own position in life; the child bears the name of the adopting parent and is entitled to inheritance and a child's legal share in the estate of the adopting parent, etc.

Permission to adopt is sought before a court of law, which in every case has to investigate carefully the suitability of the parent, and this involves ascertaining the opinion of the child welfare committee. An essential condition is that the person adopting a child should have reached the age of 25. A man and his wife have to adopt jointly, but other than married couples are not allowed jointly to take an adoptive child. Married couples with children of their own are not allowed to adopt except for very particular reasons.

No payment may be made in the case of adoption; but the natural parents may pay to the child welfare committee a sum of money to be administered by the committee for the child's upbringing and education.

The law makes provision for the rescission of adoptive relations, but only by the verdict of a court of law after an understanding has been arrived at between the parties and also in certain instances on the application of either party.

A foreign subject may not adopt or be adopted in this country, unless the adoption is legal in the country to which he belongs; nor may a Swedish subject in a foreign country adopt or be adopted unless the Government has given its sanction in respect of a certain country or in a certain definite case.

Other Legal Regulations. Of very great importance for the application of the provisions concerning the rights of children to maintenance is the Act relating to the withholding of salary, or wages, etc., and the Act prohibiting certain persons liable to maintenance from leaving the country. By the former Act a rapid and inexpensive means of enforcement has been created through the wages of the person liable to maintenance. This means that the employer of the person liable to maintenance is ordered to withhold from the wages, as they fall due, an amount corresponding to the maintenance,

and this is then handed over to the person entitled to maintenance. Under the latter Act a person liable to maintenance for a child or adopted child below the age of 16 must not leave the country unless he gives bail for the fulfilment of his obligation. It is for the persons interested in preventing his leaving the country to notify the authorities of his projected departure. A prohibition can then be issued, and it rests with the police to prevent his leaving.

The regulations regarding compulsory labour imposed on negligent persons liable to provide maintenance, as prescribed in the acts on poor relief and public child welfare, have also contributed towards making neglectful parents realize their duty to maintain their children.

By a Royal Decree of 25th November, 1927 respecting search for certain persons liable to provide maintenance, poor relief boards and child welfare committees, as well as the person entitled to support and the child welfare guardian, are entitled to advertise for certain persons liable to provide support and whose whereabouts are not known. The advertisement is inserted in a special publication upon application being made to the State inspector for poor relief and child welfare.

Convention with other Northern Countries. Between Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway there was concluded on 10th February, 1931 a Convention respecting the collection of maintenance contributions in respect of family rights, which was ratified by Sweden on 11th December, 1931 and came into force on 1st January, 1932.

3. Private Charity.

Although the public relief authorities have undertaken the responsibility of assisting in every case of actual destitution, private charity has assumed considerable proportions.

The object of private charities is *partly* to take measures to prevent anybody from suffering distress, and *partly* to relieve those actually in distress by pecuniary assistance, by furnishing them with work, or by giving suitable advice, and thereby supplementing to a certain extent the official poor relief.

In respect of *child welfare* private philanthropy has been helpful

to no small extent though by different kinds of measures and partly with other aims than for adults.

Preventive measures with regard to *mothers and children* are taken by institutions for the lowering of mortality among them, raising the standard of the care of children in general, and making it possible for poor mothers themselves to care for and support their children. Such institutions are the smaller maternity homes, at present numbering about 70, established in various places, and the milk dispensaries, established in several towns and other densely populated areas. Some of these dispense suitable milk, or special blends of milk for the sick, but they generally take in and supervise breast-fed children and by means of nursing bonuses enable poor mothers, who otherwise would have to go out to work, to continue nursing their babies; and so on. It may be said that by these methods and by consultative activities the milk dispensaries are developing more and more into centres for child welfare, and it has been suggested that one such centre should be established in all localities with a population of at least 5,000. At present there are about 50 milk dispensaries or child welfare centres, of which 9 are in Stockholm and 10 in Gothenburg. The expenses of running the milk dispensaries are at present covered partly by donations and subscriptions, and partly by municipal grants.

Further there are homes for infants, established for the purpose of keeping together, in the first place, the unmarried mother and her child during the most critical period of its life, crèches for infants and other children under school age, in which the children are given protection and care whilst the mothers are out at work, the first of these being erected in Stockholm in 1854, and also kindergartens, the object of which is to give children under school age suitable supervision and keep them occupied with games and simple handwork, etc., train the children's faculties of observation and make them better fitted for the coming work at school. The first kindergarten was opened in Stockholm in 1896, and since then they have continually increased in number, and in many cases receive communal support. Their system of education and their working methods are being adopted more and more by crèches and other children's institutions, where the need for trained kindergarten teachers is becoming increasingly felt.

Arrangements have been made for school children who in their

Private Charity

free time have no one to look after them at home. For these children there are the workshops for children and similar institutions which go under the names of afternoon homes, homes for school children, etc. The children are taught brush-making, basket-weaving, cardboard work, wood-carving, carpentry, bast and metal

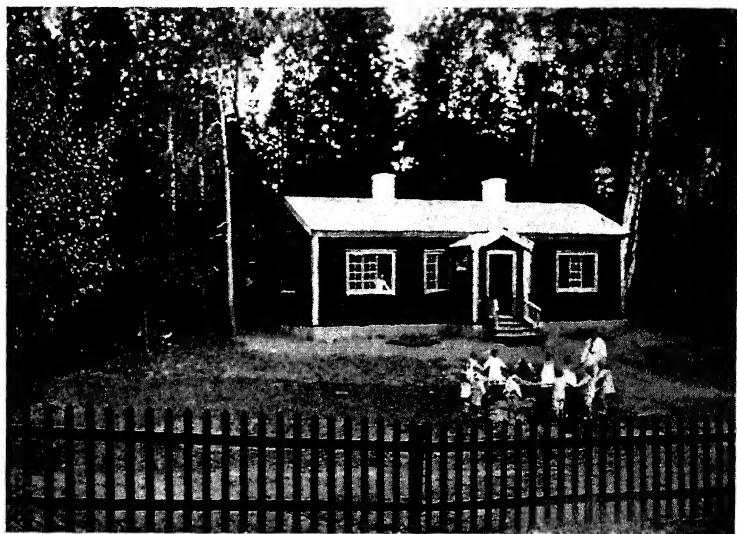


Barnens ö (Children's Island): Storgården Holiday Home (with a Group of Schoolchildren).

working, tailoring, crochet work, weaving, sewing, and shoe repairing. Domestic work, such as house-cleaning and washing up, is also taught. In some cases the workshops are combined with cookery schools. As most of the children come from very poor homes, they receive one or more free meals at the institution. They are also sometimes given homework, for which they receive remuneration. The work is supported by communal and private contributions and by the sale of the children's work. The first workshop was instituted in 1887, in Stockholm. The children's workshops in Norrbotten and Västerbotten are of a special character, providing lodging for children of school age living in remote places.

Public and Private Relief Work

In order that the physique of delicate children from poor homes may be improved, so that they may be enabled to benefit by their schooling, special kitchens for providing free meals — which are more and more being taken over by the communes — have been organized, as well as vacation colonies intended to give poor



Barnens ö: Eliasson's Village No. 1 (Infant Colony).

and delicate city children a health-improving holiday in the country during the summer months. The colonies, which are usually located in the archipelagoes and in forest regions, in some cases own their premises; in most cases a house is rented. The colonies are usually in charge of a school master or mistress with the necessary assistants. The children do not do any school work, but they take part in the household work. Excellent results, both as regards improved health and sense of cleanliness, orderliness, and good habits, have been achieved. Children are being sent out every year in increasing numbers. The first actual vacation colony in Sweden was founded in 1884 by the elementary school mistress Agnes Lagerstedt in Stockholm. In the following year a central board was established in Stockholm, with a representative in each parish, in order to promote the move-

ment. Vacation colonies have been started in several towns besides Stockholm, as well as in other places with a fairly dense population.

Besides those children who are sent out into the country through the medium of the vacation colonies, a great number of so-called holiday children have been given the opportunity of spending the summer in private families in different parts of the country.

Amongst the preventive activities for children we further note the children's hostels, which are intended to receive for short periods children who for various reasons cannot receive the necessary care in their homes.

There are children's homes of different types for those children who have to be taken care of entirely, and certain details concerning these were given in a preceding chapter. Homes containing a large number of children, with their own schools attached, are rare nowadays, and small homes are being established instead, often on the family system. Another type is represented by, for instance, Prince Carl's Educational Institution at Gålö, where the children are boarded out in private homes under the supervision of the head of the institution, and attend a school specially erected for the purpose. Most of these children's homes are intended for well-behaved children, but there are also homes for vicious children, several of which have been recognized as reformatories under the Child Welfare Act of 1924.

The child welfare bureaus, some of which are private institutions, have been described in a preceding chapter (see p. 233).

The existing arrangements for preventing degenerate and undisciplined tendencies in *juveniles*, such as clubs and societies for young people, cannot be ranged under private charities; but on the other hand private charity has been instrumental in erecting for this purpose *housewifery schools* for girls who have finished school, as well as societies and homes for the protection of girls who otherwise might go astray, such as the Young Women's Protection (U. K. V.) in Stockholm, and the Home for Women at Källered near Gothenburg, which is under the management of the Samaritan Home (Samariterhemmet) at Upsala. For the rescue of fallen young women the White Ribbon Union of Stockholm has erected a *receiving home*, and through the work of the Salvation Army *rescue homes* have been established in Stockholm, Gothenburg, and other places. *Asylums* and *hostels* for the temporarily home-

less and unemployed should also be included in this group. The Stockholm Town Mission is carrying on extensive work for homeless and destitute men in order to bring them back to work, provide better housing conditions, etc. The increasing unemployment amongst young people in recent years has induced several societies to establish homes, often in conjunction with occupational training, for unemployed young people of both sexes.

A most important task with regard to preventive poor relief is carried out by the many societies for giving medical aid to the poor, which employ trained nurses, who nurse the sick in their homes when it is not possible, suitable, or necessary to send the patient to a hospital. There are also many homes for convalescents in different places.

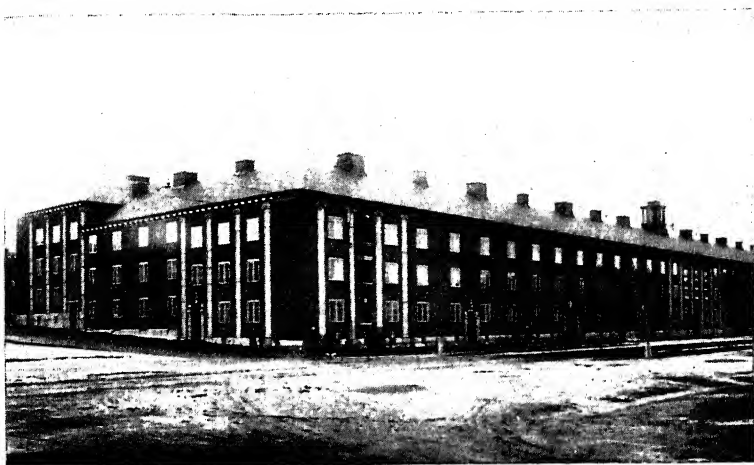
In this connection mention may be made of the so-called work societies, whose object is to aid poor women in their efforts to support themselves, by providing them with the possibility of earning money by work at home. Every parish in Stockholm, as well as in numerous other towns, has such a society co-operating with the parish protection societies.

Very extensive work is carried on by private societies in order to assist abnormal people, the blind, deaf and dumb, cripples, etc. Their work consists mainly in imparting instruction and training and, after a stay at the different institutions, in aiding them in some measure to compete with able-bodied labour. Thus workshops are erected, tools and material provided, besides which the benevolent societies act as middlemen in the sale of the products. The Crown Princess Margaret's Work Committee for the Blind carries on extensive activities through local associations in the different provinces.

There are numerous societies (defence, protection societies, etc.) financed out of public funds, for supporting and aiding discharged prisoners and vagrants, the homeless and helpless, and all those who need support and assistance in order to gain a firm footing in life (cf. p. 258).

There are institutions for the *relief of the aged and sick*, some of which are limited to certain corporations, such as the Burgher's Homes for Old Men and for Widows in Stockholm, and some to certain trades, e. g. dressmakers and aged servants. Some of them are intended for disabled people, such as the Old Age Home for Blind Women in Stockholm and the Stockholm Home for the Deaf and

Private Charity



The Broström Foundation, Gothenburg.



Drottninghuset (Queen's House), Stockholm.

Dumb, and some for people who have seen better days, the so-called *pauvres honteux*. There are many such homes of different types for old people. Whereas some of them support their pensioners entirely, others give them lodging, heating, and partial board, or let lodgings at a very low rent. Yet others give only shelter, e. g. the Queen's House in Stockholm, founded in 1686. In some homes, such as the Asylum of the Order of Carpenters for men, no charge is made; at the Home for the Aged at Enskede payment is made according to means. In most of the homes there are a certain number of free places. At the Danvik Home outside Stockholm, the oldest institution of this description in Sweden, only paying inmates are received. Among those established in recent years may be mentioned "The Flower Fund", which has several properties in Stockholm. Further there have been established, in Stockholm especially, through the religious institutions old people's homes ("parish homes") in the various parishes where the necessitous aged may obtain lodging and have certain facilities for obtaining medical attention, etc.

Besides the above there are possibilities for the sick and less able-bodied to obtain assistance from *pension funds, societies and foundations*, which provide temporary or permanent relief. Such sources of assistance are available especially for certain corporations such as burghers, ex-soldiers and their widows and daughters, as well as *pauvres honteux*.

The pension funds, as well as a considerable number of other funds which give only temporary assistance, usually provide relief, up to a predetermined amount, irrespective of individual needs. Of the greatest importance, therefore, for a rational working of private benevolence is the activity of the *societies with general benevolent aims*, such as the General Protection Society of Stockholm, the General Benevolent Society of Gothenburg, the Charity Organization Society of Stockholm, the object of which is to provide assistance towards self-help. There are societies in several other towns with practically the same aims, which go under the names of Voluntary Poor Relief, Information Bureau, etc. Some of them endeavour, in connection with their charitable activities, to keep the recipients of relief under personal observation, with the object especially of influencing the way in which families bring up their children and of bringing comfort and happiness to the aged and sick in various ways.

Private Charity



The Foundation in Memory of Isaak Hirsch, Stockholm (for Providing cheap Dwellings for Pauvres Honteux).



Queen Victoria's Convalescent Home at Borgholm (for Women in Need of Recreation).

The main object of the Charity Organization Society of Stockholm is, irrespective of political and religious opinions, to work in the capital for regulated co-operation between private philanthropists, private benevolent foundations or societies, and the public poor relief. The society further aims at suppressing professional begging and other forms of mendicancy, collecting information on methods and experience gained in the field of charity, and thus trying to effect uniformity in the matter of charity and its practice. The Charity Organization Society chooses as objects for its activity chiefly such cases as can be helped to become self-supporting by a single grant in aid.

In order to facilitate co-operation, the Charity Organization Society has taken the initiative in the establishment of a registration bureau for Stockholm, called The Registration Bureau for Relief and Pensions. The importance of this measure is realized more and more, and registration bureaus with more or less comprehensive programmes have been established or planned during recent years in numerous other towns and large communities.

4. Free Legal Assistance.

The question of meeting the need for providing poor people with free legal assistance has only become a more or less urgent one in Sweden during the last few years. As long ago as 1872 the town of Gothenburg decided to appoint a special lawyer, with the mission of assisting needy people free of charge, or at a reduced fee, both outside and inside the law courts. This arrangement, known as the Institution for Legal Assistance to the Poor, was imitated in several other towns, amongst others in Stockholm in 1884.

The institution for legal assistance to the poor, however, had not the necessary facilities for solving the problem in a satisfactory manner. His legal practice among the poor was a side-line for the lawyer, carried on in such time as he could spare from his ordinary practice.

The institution for legal assistance to the poor was reorganized in Stockholm in 1913 into a City Bureau for Legal Assistance, and in 1919 the foundations were at last laid for a radical solution for the whole country of the question of legal assistance for the less

Free Legal Assistance

well-to-do, partly by means of an Act providing for free legal proceedings and partly by granting State assistance to public legal aid institutions.

By the *Free Legal Proceedings Act*, a legal institution that had long existed in the judicial systems of several other countries was introduced into Swedish legislation. The object of the Act is to provide poor people with the same possibilities of having their rights defended by legal proceedings as those better situated. In many important respects it goes considerably further than corresponding legislation abroad.

Free legal proceedings are granted by the court, which determines whether the financial position of the party is such that he should enjoy this benefit. By the Act of 14th June, 1929 there was introduced, however, the provision that free legal proceedings should not be granted to a party when it must be considered of extremely little importance to him that his case should be tried. Free legal proceedings ensure exemption from the direct costs of the lawsuit, including minutes fee, costs of serving the writ, witnesses' fees, together with the right to receive, where necessary, the assistance of a lawyer at the expense of the State, provided the party granted free legal proceedings is not in a position, either himself or through a person who officially or otherwise is supporting him, to advance his interests properly in bringing up the case or carrying it through. In less complicated cases the judge has to assist the party without a special advocate. The court fixes a reasonable fee for the lawyer for his work in the case and reimbursement of necessary expenses. The lawyer is not entitled to receive any payment from the party in excess of what has thus been determined. The court may even decide that in certain cases remuneration of the lawyer nominated by the court shall according to circumstances be fixed at less than might otherwise be due, or the lawyer may even be declared not entitled to remuneration. This is done when a case has been brought up or pursued without sufficient cause and the lawyer displayed want of care. The party has the right to select the lawyer to be appointed, if there are no special reasons why he should not be allowed to do so. The appointment of a lawyer is not allowed in the higher courts, but the lawyer employed by the party may receive reimbursement from the State if the party's appeal is allowed in essentials. Free legal proceedings also entitle to free execution of the judgment. The

party is not liable, irrespective of the result of the case, to refund to the State its expenses, unless within five years of the conclusion of the case his financial position has improved.

The Swedish law differs from most foreign laws in two essential respects, namely, that the court does not carry out any preliminary enquiry as to whether the party is justified in bringing the case or not, and also that the counsel appointed is remunerated by the State.

The Free Legal Proceedings Act only gives assistance in case of court proceedings. The legal assistance outside of actual lawsuits, such as consultations, investigations, legal negotiations without a lawsuit, effecting compromises, etc. must, however, naturally be of at least as great importance.

Experience has, however, shown that free legal proceedings, even in cases of lawsuits, do not actually give the full assistance they were intended to give. A private lawyer always chooses the better situated as his principal clients. As soon as he is independent of poor persons' cases with their regulated remuneration, he drops them. There may be a danger, therefore, of the work falling into the hands of less desirable persons. Moreover, the private lawyer is in many cases, both personally as well as from a legal point of view, somewhat unfamiliar with some questions that concern the living conditions of the masses. Nor would it be desirable, from an economic point of view, for the Treasury to engage private lawyers in the numerous minor cases that cannot conveniently be dealt with by the court without special counsel.

It has therefore proved necessary to establish alongside the Free Legal Proceedings Act special public institutions, *public institutes for legal assistance*, the object of which is to assist the masses in cases outside of the law courts and also in legal proceedings.

The public institutes for legal assistance are established on a communal basis. Each institute is under the direction of a board, the chairman and vice-chairman of which are appointed by the provincial governor, and the other members by the commune or those communes that have established the institute. The institutes are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice. They constitute a link, therefore, in the general administration of justice. — The intention is to establish institutes for legal assistance within the areas of each provincial council as well as for each city that does not come under a provincial council. The institutes have head offices, and,

Treatment of Asocial Individuals

where necessary, stationary or mobile branch offices and special local representatives. There are at present institutes established in the towns of Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, Norrköping, Hälsingborg, and Eskilstuna, and in the province of Örebro. Proposals are being considered for the establishment of institutes in several other places.

The institutes are open to anyone who is considered to be of small means. The production of a certificate as to the financial standing of the applicant is not necessary as a rule, but the applicant is liable to be called upon to provide evidence on this point if required. The institutes are bound to assist each other without any reimbursement.

On the whole, the work of the institutes is organized in the same way as that of private lawyers. The manager is a trained lawyer. This manager may not hold any other paid public or private position, neither may he carry on a private lawyer's practice. Those employed by the institute may not accept privately any case submitted to the institute. The staff are engaged at fixed salaries. Remuneration in the form of perquisites is not allowed.

The finances of the institutes are primarily based on grants from the commune or communes which have established the institute. The institutes also have at their disposal incomes arising out of their own proceedings (costs which are adjudged for payment out of public funds in cases in which assistance from the institute has been summoned, as well as payments made in respect of costs adjudged in other suits to be payable by the client of the opposite side). A further source of income is the fee which the institute may impose on the claimant who has gained something substantial through the legal assistance given him. State grants may be obtained to cover all expenses for postage, telephone, telegrams, and journeys on the State Railways, and further up to half of the institute's expenses for salaries, stationery and the like, after the profits of the institute have been deducted. There is a State grant of up to 3,000 kronor to cover the initial expenses incurred in establishing the institute.

5. Treatment of Asocial Individuals.

Care of Vagrants. The term *vagrants*, as used in legislation, covers two somewhat distinct categories of asocial individuals, namely vagabonds in the strict sense of the word and persons who although

they have a fixed abode are known to be leading a life hurtful to good social order and morality. The trend of development seems to be for an increasing proportion to be referable to the latter group, among which, inter alia, would be included *souteneurs*, confidence tricksters (professional gamblers), illicit vendors of intoxicating liquor, and various kinds of habitual offenders. Of the females the great majority belong to the category that formerly fell under controlled prostitution, and since the abolition of registration (cf. p. 171) the Vagrancy Act has constituted the principal means available to the police for dealing with this class of women.

The action prescribed for vagrancy consists in cautioning and committing to a public penal workhouse. Sentence of enforced labour is passed by the administrative authority (provincial governor) after a preliminary warning. The period of internment is generally not less than one month, with a maximum of one year; if the offence be repeated, or when aggravating circumstances exist, it may be prolonged up to three years. After his release a convicted person is subject to police supervision for a certain period.

Up to 1921 the penal workhouses were subordinate to the Prisons Board, but they have now been transferred to the Ministry of Social Affairs, and placed under special management boards, one for each institution. At present there is one institution for men (Svartsjö) and one for women (Landskrona). The former is combined with a large farm, enabling a large proportion of the men interned to be employed on outdoor work, which is salutary from a hygienic as well as from an educational point of view. The kind of labour that formerly was preponderantly carried out at this and similar institutions, namely stone-breaking, has nowadays been abolished. — The female interneers are principally occupied with sewing and similar work, but attached to the institution there is also a special agricultural colony, meant chiefly for such of the interned as are first offenders and are likely to be amenable to more individual attention, and whom it has therefore seemed desirable to withdraw from close contact with the more depraved elements. Certain extensions to the main building having made possible a better distribution of the inmates, this section has however been provisionally abandoned since the beginning of 1932.

As vagrants interned in the penal workhouses are in many cases addicted to an excessive use of alcohol, there are many points of

Treatment of Asocial Individuals

contact between the care of vagrants and that of inebriates. The connection existing between these two lines of social care has led to the establishment at both the above-named institutions of special sections for the care of inebriates, intended partly for the treatment of those who on account of unruly behaviour cannot well be admitted as patients into the ordinary homes for inebriates and partly for incorrigible inebriates.

The Act at present in force concerning treatment of vagrants dates from 1885 and is thus older than most of the Acts in force in the social domain. As, moreover, the said Act contains many survivals of earlier statutes on the same subject, inspired by the legal and social ideas of previous centuries, it is only natural that it has long been felt that a revision of the Act was called for.

After inquiries covering several years, which provided no fewer than five expert recommendations on the matter, the last proposal was submitted to the Riksdag in 1931 in the form of a bill on measures against a degenerate manner of living (Degeneracy Law), which was to replace the 1885 Vagrancy Act. The bill did not obtain the approval of the Riksdag and the question still awaits settlement. In respect of the scope of the Act, however, an amendment was voted in the Riksdag of 1934 to the effect that a person under 21 cannot be dealt with as a vagrant.

The difficulty in arriving at legislation more in conformity with the times and more effective in this domain is due partly to the awkwardness of including under a single enactment varying types of individuals harmful to the community. In this respect opposition has particularly been directed to the proposal that this legislation should continue likewise to cover certain immoral persons, especially prostitutes.

Another problem most difficult of solution is that of the form to be taken by public intervention as regards the compulsory measures required by the law in question. To this end efforts at reform have aimed at replacing the present purely administrative treatment of such matters by a partly judicial procedure which shall ensure increased legal security to private individuals. Moreover it has been desired to give to non-professional elements a certain influence in the trying of such cases. These reform proposals were likewise subject to criticism, and the divergence of opinion on this point largely contributed to the rejection of the entire bill.

Treatment of Inebriates. Legislation on the treatment of inebriates has been in existence since 1913 (the Act of 30th June, 1913, concerning the treatment of inebriates, which came into force on 1st August, 1916). Since 1st July, 1932 this has been replaced by a new Inebriates Act, passed on 12th June, 1931.

Abusers of alcohol are as a rule ignorant of the perniciousness of their habit, and of its consequences not only to themselves but to those around them. Legislation concerning inebriates has therefore to grant to the authorities the right to resort to coercive measures. Swedish legislators have taken this into consideration and accorded to the highest local administrative authority, the provincial governor, the power, at the request of the communal temperance board, or in certain cases at the request of the police — to order an inebriate's compulsory detention in a public institute for the treatment of inebriates. The legislators having consented to such rigorous, and for the inebriate serious, intervention, they were forced to restrict the scope of their legislation. The act relating to the treatment of inebriates therefore does not refer to any and every abuser of alcohol, but for its enforcement it is necessary that certain social results shall have followed, or are likely to follow from the abuse. It therefore admits of coercive measures being taken against a person addicted to drink only if he, in consequence of this abuse:

- 1) is a danger to the personal safety of others or to his own life (dangerous inebriates), or
- 2) exposes any person whom he is obliged by law to support to distress or palpable neglect, or otherwise is seriously lacking in his duty to such a person, or
- 3) becomes an encumbrance to the parish, his family or others, or
- 4) is incapable of looking after himself, or
- 5) carries on a manner of living seriously disturbing to his neighbours or others, or
- 6) has during the preceding two years been three or more times convicted of drunkenness.

One of the main purposes of the Act is to prevent acts of violence on the part of the inebriate. The Act therefore contains some particularly stringent provisions in respect of dangerous inebriates, of whom those who maltreat their wives form an important group. The Act endeavours to obviate the risk, during the interval between complaint and internment, of acts of vengeance against the wife — the

true or supposed informer — by provisions which make it a duty of the police authorities "without delay to take the necessary provisional action" against the party concerned.

While in respect of dangerous inebriates it is very often of particular importance that intervention can take place with the utmost speed, and the Act thus admits of prompt measures in the process, rapid intervention is not so much called for in respect of other abusers of alcohol mentioned in the Act. On the contrary, in these cases the temperance board can, and should, take its time, and try by less severe measures than forcible internment to lead the person concerned back to a better mode of life. These so-called preventive measures play a very important part in the organized treatment of inebriates in Sweden, and are an expression of the fact that the Swedish legislation must not be looked upon in the first instance as an Internment Act — except in respect of dangerous inebriates. Experience has shown that the best way to success in this preventive work on the part of the temperance board is to put the person concerned under surveillance. By this means co-operation is brought about between the board and the inebriate, which frequently achieves the desired object of inducing the inebriate to discontinue his abuse of alcohol. For this co-operation to succeed, however, it is important that the board, when encountering unreasonableness or defiance, by its power otherwise to take measures for forcible internment in case of need, should be able to show authority behind its demand that the inebriate shall obey the board's less stringent decisions.

One significant detail is that the board — and in the case of dangerous inebriates also the police — is competent to take action against a person who comes under the provisions of the Act, whether information has been laid with the board (the police) or not. In other words, the board is entitled and required to intervene as soon as it has received, no matter by what means, reliable information of a case of alcoholic abuse and has through personal investigation and a doctor's examination ascertained that the abuse has involved the harmful consequences mentioned in the Act. This arrangement is based upon the experience that those whose duty it is in the first instance to lodge information, viz. the relatives of the inebriate, many a time refrain from doing so on account of fear, ignorance of the law and its application, indifference due to the blunting effect of habit, etc.

A compulsorily interned inebriate may be detained at a public institution for one year, or in the event of a relapse for two years as a rule. For certain groups, namely dangerous inebriates who have been declared not liable to punishment as being irresponsible for their actions but have shown tendencies to relapse (by which is meant in this connection those admitted to inebriate institutions at least three times and interned anew within 12 months of the latest discharge), the internment may be prolonged by two years if the person "in view of his mentality and his previous life and conduct in the institute may be presumed in the event of discharge not to be likely to lead a regular and temperate life". These are, however, maximum periods. Under express provisions discharge from the institution *must* be granted earlier if there is any reason to assume that the person under treatment will, after his discharge, live a sober and decent life. In order to obtain some guidance for judging whether expedited discharge may properly take place, the granting of *p r o b a t i o n a r y l e a v e* has been much practised in the application of the law. After six or eight months' stay at the institution the person under treatment is as a rule let out on probation and allowed to return to his home; he is still looked upon as an inmate of the institution, and has to observe the conditions laid down for him — e. g. to subject himself to surveillance by the communal temperance board — failing which his leave of absence will be at once revoked. If, on the other hand, he behaves properly, his leave is renewed two or three times, and then generally passes into conditional discharge. Meanwhile the person discharged is still under the surveillance of the temperance board, and if he offends seriously against the terms of his release he can be re-interned under more summary conditions and procedure. The temperance board's care of the abuser of alcohol thus does not cease after the inebriate has been interned, but includes also the very important after-treatment.

The cost of treatment at inebriate institutions is chiefly met out of State revenues. For dangerous inebriates who have been declared not liable to punishment and also those who are detained beyond the normal maximum term, the State must in conformity with a specific regulation bear the whole cost. For other categories the communal authorities concerned have to contribute a small sum (50 öre per day).

In every commune there must be a *t e m p e r a n c e b o a r d*

Treatment of Asocial Individuals

for the enforcement of the Inebriates Act; if no such board has been specially appointed, the poor relief board of the commune shall act as a temperance board. It has been found of the utmost importance for the successful treatment of inebriates that there shall be some person responsible for them amongst the communal authorities. The



Private Home for Inebriates, Björknäs.

fact that the enforcement of the law on the treatment of inebriates has on the whole remained free from any serious criticism may probably very largely be ascribed to the very fact that it is the locally elected board which is empowered to take the initiative in intervention under the Act — the jury-like character of the board, which as a rule is composed of members of all classes of society, and with varying social and political opinions, serves as a guarantee for ensuring that no undue interference occurs and no wrong is committed from unwise zeal in the name of the law.

The institutional system is now (January 1937) fairly extensive in that it consists of twelve different institutions, two of which are for women. The State Home for Inebriates at Venngarn, near Sigtuna, is the main reception institution, with accommodation for about 125. For the more unruly inebriates the State inebriate homes, one at Svartsjö and one at Landskrona — the latter for women —, have been established in conjunction with the penal workhouses at those places.

Public and Private Relief Work

As approved institutions the Government has also recognized six homes established by communes, associations or other foundations in different parts of the country, and these are in receipt of fairly extensive grants from the State towards working expenses. In order to enlarge the possibilities of differentiation, the State also allows maintenance grants to three private inebriate homes, all in the Mälar district, at which compulsory detention cannot take place. Altogether the organized inebriate treatment now (January 1937) provides accommodation for treatment of over 750, about 300 at State institutions, 335 at approved institutions and 115 at private institutions.

The increase in the number of those cared for at institutions for inebriates can be seen from the following table:

Y e a r	Number that can be taken at all the institutions	Number of an- nual admissions to these institu- tions
1920—1924, average	275	265
1925—1929, "	326	341
1930—1934, "	442	550
1935	621	810
1936	697	864

The supervising authority for the care of inebriates is the Social Board, which likewise directs special relief and propaganda work carried on since 1921 among temperance boards.

Conditional Sentence. In proportion as retribution as the sole ruling principle in the country's penal system has increasingly been replaced by that of reform, the reclamation of the offender has more and more insistently predominated in the administration of justice.

The law of 1918 concerning conditional sentence aims directly at possibilities of reform, in that it so to speak remits the sentence, though only on the condition that the offender manifests a capacity for real and lasting improvement. The courts have considerable freedom as to whether they avail themselves of this right. All offences cannot, however, be punished conditionally, but only those for which the penalty is not more than six months hard labour or more than a year's imprisonment. Further, conditional sentences cannot be inflicted when the accused has been condemned to hard

labour or imprisonment or other similar penalty within the immediately preceding ten years. Thus, second offenders in the proper sense cannot -- rightly enough -- be given conditional sentence.

Fines can only be imposed conditionally in cases where, on account of poverty or insufficient earning capacity, the condemned person would be compelled to work off the fines by imprisonment.

Penalties imposed for offences against the Freedom of the Press Order, and the majority of the penalties imposed under the special military penal code, cannot be conditional.

In cases where conditional sentence is possible the judge concerned usually makes arrangements for a so-called preliminary investigation.

Whether the penalty imposed conditionally shall actually be inflicted or not depends upon the offender's behaviour during a certain probationary period. This period is three years, except in the case of fines, when it is only one year. During this probationary period the offender is put by the court under the supervision of a specially appointed probation officer provided it cannot for special reasons be supposed that the offender will show improvement without supervision. Every probationary case is under the care of a certain court (the probationary court). If the offender at the time of the trial is under 21 years of age, he may be made subject by the court to certain duties of obedience. It is naturally of great importance for the attainment of good results that the president of the court should show personal interest in the work of supervision and consult with the probation officers, and that these latter should be well qualified for their delicate task. Both those who carry out the preliminary investigations mentioned above and the probation officers are remunerated for their work. Among other things it falls to the probation officer to keep records concerning the probationer he has charge of in a book specially kept for that purpose. When the time of probation is over, the book is sent to the Prisons Board.

The experience gained of this procedure up to the present time has been very satisfactory on the whole. The figures of relapses among those whose probationary period has expired within recent years have kept between 8 and 11 % (8.9 % for 1935). In the case of those who have not been put under supervision, and who thus were from

the first considered less evilly disposed, investigation proves that the percentage of relapses is somewhat lower than among those mentioned above as having been subject to supervision.

Discharged Prisoners' Aid. Organized work for aiding discharged prisoners dates from the middle of last century, when the first Prisoners' Aid Society was formed. Since then several similar prisoners' aid or protection societies have gradually come into existence, so that at the present time there is one in every province. The activities of these societies were originally limited to assisting prisoners discharged from any of the prisons in the county. During the last few years, however, some of the societies have extended their activities to embrace discharged prisoners from other provinces and also, in certain cases, others who are in need of assistance.

In 1879 a Central Association was formed in Stockholm to aid discharged prisoners. In co-operation with the prison authorities and other aid societies, this association has as its object to afford moral support and a means of earning an honest living to discharged prisoners. The association has established a home — Åby Country Home — not far from Uppsala, where discharged prisoners can be received and provided with some form of occupation (farming, gardening, handicrafts, etc.) until they can obtain suitable employment.

Side by side with the provincial societies mentioned above, there have been formed, since 1910, protection societies, in Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, Örebro, Vänersborg, Umeå, Gävle and Falun. These associations are organized on a broader basis, in that from the first they have taken up rescue work among discharged prisoners, those under conditional sentence, vagrants, inebriates, prostitutes, or others in need of succour. The Protection Society in Stockholm has a garden home not far from Stockholm (Björka Home), intended as a training home for such persons — especially young people — as show a bent for gardening.

In 1925 a union of the prisoners' aid and protection societies and associations was constituted under the title of the Swedish Protection Federation. By means of this Federation comprising 34 such societies it has been possible to bring about better co-operation between the associations and greater uniformity in their methods. The Federation receives support from the State. Many of the associations in the Swedish Protection Federation have recently divided up

the territorial sphere of their operations (often a whole province) into several districts, with a representative in each.

Apart from the help afforded by the above-mentioned associations, discharged prisoners and their necessitous dependants are helped by the Salvation Army, which has a large number of rescue homes and shelters; by the Stockholm City Mission, now affiliated to the Protection Federation, with a temperance restaurant, firewood-cutting depot and labour home; by the White Ribbon Rescue Home; by the Stockholm Church Social Council for Women; by the Young Women's Protection and Rescue Home with a refuge for young unprotected or otherwise necessitous women, etc.

Treatment of Juvenile Offenders. The humanitarian efforts in the domain of prisoners' welfare work which have been made in recent decades in Sweden have naturally aimed not least at an improved and more individualized care of juvenile offenders. The Act of 27th June, 1902 makes it possible, in certain cases of offences committed by persons who are over 15 but under 18 years of age, to exchange the punishment to which the prisoner has been sentenced for a term of detention in a reformatory. The operation of the Act has gradually been extended and it now includes reformatory detention for the above-named category instead of fines, or imprisonment, or hard labour for at most two years. In the application of the reformatory system the court has to take in consideration not only the age of the offender, but his disposition, his environment, and his stage of mental development.

Sweden has two reformatories, one for boys at Bona, in Östergötland, and one for girls at Viebäck, in Småland. Anyone ordered by a court to undergo detention in a reformatory is transferred in charge of a special warder to the institution by the provincial governor's office. The inmate can be detained till he is 21 years of age, but he may be discharged earlier if before that age he seems to have acquired sufficient stability of character. Unless, however, for special reasons, the supervisory authority of the institution (provincial governor) allows it, the offender may not be discharged within two years unless his having reached the age of 21 warrants discharge. The board of the institution may, however, after a year of his stay at the institution, transfer a "pupil" (as they are called when admitted into the institution), indefinitely or for a certain

time, to the care of private persons or put him into service or a trade. During such "probationary leave" he is under the supervision of the institution, and if he behaves badly, may immediately be sent back.

At Bona the boys learn some trade, according to their bent and inclination. A good percentage are taught, in addition, every-



. Sports Ground at the Bona Reformatory.

thing connected with a well-kept farm or up-to-date gardening. The girls (at Viebäck) learn household work and also gardening and farming. Side by side with the practical training there is also extensive theoretical instruction. In very many cases the school attendance of the pupils before their stay at the institution has been very irregular, so that their education needs supplementing on many points. If the pupil shows a special inclination for a certain subject, he may specialize in it to no small extent. Sport has been given an increasingly predominant place in the scheme and is taken up with the greatest interest, especially by the boys (at Bona).

The reformatory system, as practised in this country for more than a quarter of a century, has — in spite of the risks always attending a system of segregation in institutions, even when the sexes are naturally separated into different institutions — proved to possess great possibilities for making decent citizens of boys and girls who have started early on the downward path.

Many young people who have come into serious conflict with the law cannot, however, because of the nature of the offence or because the offender at the time of the offence had attained the age of 18 years, be sent to a reformatory in substitution for imprisonment.

By the passing in 1935 of a special Act on the imprisonment of young persons the facilities for the special treatment of youthful offenders are now substantially widened.

The new Act constitutes to a certain extent a complement to the institution of reformatory treatment, while yet involving a form of treatment deviating from the latter. The feature they have in common is that in both cases reform is the main principle. The main difference is that reformatory treatment is not regarded as a penalty while the young person's imprisonment is regarded as a penalty.

As illustrating the sphere of application of the Act, its first section may be cited. It is to the following effect: "If any person not having completed his twenty-first year has committed an offence and can according to the law be sentenced to imprisonment or to penal servitude for the offence, or if several offences have been committed for one of them, the Court may, if the offender at the time of the judgment has completed eighteen years, substitute for the penalty or penalties to which he otherwise would be liable a sentence of juvenile imprisonment. Such sentence shall not be imposed where according to the law the lowest term of imprisonment for the offence or one of the offences is four years or more with hard labour.

Sentence of juvenile imprisonment shall be imposed where the nature of the offence and the personal state of development of the offender, his conduct and conditions of living otherwise give reason to suppose that he is in need of and receptive for such education and training as is intended by juvenile imprisonment, and also such and other existing circumstances make it more suitable than another penalty".

Here then we are concerned with the special treatment of young offenders between the ages of 18 and 21. True, a certain possibility for such special treatment has existed for several years past, in that — according to provisions of the administrative regulations in force — prisoners who at the beginning of their sentences had not completed 21 years shall serve their sentence wholly or partially in penal establishments intended mainly for young prisoners. Such establishments have been founded at Uppsala and Gävle.

Nevertheless there is something in the nature of the old forms of imprisonment that runs counter to the educative aim. In this connection it may be mentioned that the sentence is usually short, always for a fixed term and as a rule not accompanied by subsequent supervision. The new Act allows the possibility of retaining those sentenced to juvenile imprisonment up to 4 years. Discharge may also take place earlier and must take place immediately the prisoner, having regard to the improvement attained, the possibility of obtaining suitable employment, etc., is considered fit to leave the institution. Discharge should not take place before the expiry of one year after sentence, unless special reasons exist. Discharge, which is decided upon by the above-mentioned commission, may be final or on probation. As a rule, however, the latter form of discharge is more likely as constituting a suitable preparation and transition to final release. Those discharged on probation are subject to special supervision. It is obvious that such supervision, especially for the young people in question here, is an extremely important matter. The institution to be established to give effect to this Act will be situated at Skenäs Kungsgård, in Östergötland.

VIII. The Land and Small Holdings Question.

1. Land Legislation.

Since the end of the 19th century, what may be called the social land question has attracted the ever-increasing attention of the State authorities in Sweden. Under this designation are generally included a number of different public problems which ultimately rest on the question of the most suitable and equitable distribution of the land. As larger and larger areas were being acquired by saw-mills and other industrial undertakings, and the peasant proprietors thus largely became a class of tenants dependent on these industrial undertakings; as the patriarchal conditions that subsisted on the entailed estates and other large agricultural properties were being replaced by others dictated by economic considerations; and as the demand for land to satisfy the needs of the increasing population

was increasing, the need for measures by the State became more strongly apparent and led to the passing of a number of new laws.

Legislation Dealing with the Right to Acquire Real Property.

To begin with, it was the acquisition by the timber industry of extensive areas of land in Norrland and Dalecarlia that attracted the attention of the authorities. At about the turn of last century the existence of peasant proprietors in these parts was seriously threatened by the extensive purchase by the various companies of old peasant homesteads. In 1906, with a view to checking this state of affairs, there was passed an Act concerning the prohibition of companies and associations in certain cases from acquiring real property. To begin with, this Act only applied to the four most northerly provinces and to certain parts of the provinces of Gävleborg and Kopparberg, but a need soon made itself felt for extension of the Act and after two extensions had been made it was replaced in 1925 by a new Act for the whole country. Like its precursor, this Act, dated 18th June, 1925, has as its object the preservation of peasant properties in peasant hands. It enacts that companies, associations and foundations have the right to acquire real property in towns or in the country which, after an inquiry according to a certain procedure, is shown to possess its chief value in buildings or is intended mainly for building sites, storage, or other purposes, or to be developed as stone quarries, gravel or clay pits, or comprises peat-bogs, water-falls, fisheries, etc. The competent authority for deciding these questions is the provincial governor. When a property has once been declared to come within the categories above-mentioned, it may freely be dealt in by companies, associations or foundations.¹ The permission of the Government is necessary before any other kind of real property in country districts may be acquired, and the Act indicates certain principles according to which permission

¹ The provisions regarding the application of the Act to foundations resulted from a decision of the 1932 Riksdag to meet a procedure adopted by certain timber companies consisting of setting up special foundations — the ostensible object of which was to administer the company's pension funds, etc. — which foundations as far as concerns ownership of property were not subject either to the Prohibition Act of 1925 or the Acts mentioned below concerning tenancy and supervision. The Act does not apply to foundations administered by authorities or other public institutions.

may be granted. Thus authority may be given to acquire a portion of the forest land of a farm-holding provided that enough forest area (known as basic forest) remains to permit of independent farming and that the portion acquired is not adapted to cultivation.

Certain limitations are also imposed in another respect on the right of companies and associations to acquire real property. In order to bring foreign interests in Swedish natural resources under the control of the State, there was passed on 30th May, 1916 an Act concerning certain restrictions of the right to acquire real property or mines or shares in certain companies. This Act prohibits foreigners or trading companies in which there are foreign shareholders, or limited companies issuing bearer shares, or economic associations, to acquire real property, to develop mineral deposits, or to work mines, unless special permission has been obtained. Further, the same prohibition applies to companies whose shares are registered in the names of the holders, unless the articles of association expressly provide for the restriction of the right of voting of foreign shareholders.

As experience showed that companies tried to evade the Act by making use of dummies, there was passed, on 18th June, 1925, an Act concerning the question of dummies in connection with real property. If the existence of such dummies is proved, the court shall, upon action being taken by the director of public prosecutions, order that, if the matter has not been voluntarily adjusted within six months by the sale of the property, it shall be compulsory sold at public auction by the sheriff. It is the duty of the provincial governor to see especially that in any local use of dummies the law be strictly observed. Provincial bailiffs, public prosecutors in town and country, registrars, communal councils, agricultural commissions as well as forestry officials should, when there is reason to believe that dummies exist, report the fact to the provincial governor.

Laws on Tenancy and Neglect of Cultivation. Another aspect of the land question involves cases where the land has passed out of the possession of the farming population, in the true sense of the term, and has been acquired by companies or others whose interests are not directly agricultural. In these cases efforts are directed to,

Land Legislation

firstly, strengthening and improving the position of the dispossessed farmers, and secondly, restoring the land to peasant proprietorship. It was intended to promote both these objects by passing the special Tenancy Act, which was placed on the statute book in 1909 and applied to Norrland and the northern part of Dalecarlia. In pursuance of the decision of the Riksdag in 1927, this Act¹ now applies, besides to Norrland, to the whole of the Kopparberg and Värmland provinces, as also to certain parishes in Örebro county. At the same time somewhat similar regulations were introduced for south Sweden by amendments to the general law concerning the usufruct of real property. The last-mentioned regulations refer to tenancy of land comprising between 4 and 25 hectares of cultivated soil — in the Norrland Act the minimum is 4 hectares "inrösningsjord" — i. e. land with boundaries marked by stone-fences — and which belongs to a company, economic association, or forest "speculator". The last-named designation is applied to any private owner of land who is not formally domiciled on the property or on a property worked in conjunction with it, but who obviously has the property in his possession with the main object of securing an income therefrom otherwise than by farming. The Act imposes on the contracting parties stringent conditions governing a minimum tenancy period of 15 years, the obligation on the owner to provide necessary buildings and to bear the expense of any extensive repairs, also the right of the tenant to bring new land under cultivation and receive compensation for this or other improvements to the land, and further the right of the tenant to catch fish sufficient for household needs. Beyond this the Norrland Act contains provisions granting the tenant the right to take fuel and timber for household needs, etc. It was thought that, by making the Act rigorous as against the landowner, it would promote the voluntary sales of land to tenants, and experience has shown that this was not a miscalculation. Under the pressure of this legislation the companies have sold a considerable number of farms to their tenants. The buyers are placed in a position to finance their purchases by the possibility of obtaining small-holdings ("own homes") loans. In a report presented on 12th June, 1936 the committee appointed to enquire into these questions — the social

¹ Act of June 29, 1909, respecting tenancy of certain land in Norrland and certain parts of Svealand.

land enquiry — has proposed measures intended to facilitate the redemption of small holdings.

In order further to investigate the tenancy laws there was appointed on 8th May, 1936 a special body of experts to whom were also referred questions raised by motions in the Riksdag as to whether and in what manner it was advisable to amend the provisions in the social tenancy laws with the object of so determining the areas that the laws would become applicable to estates from which the tenant of the farm could obtain his chief livelihood irrespective of the kind of soil of which the farm unit consists. Since 1934 a State grant has been made to cover the cost of giving advice on questions to tenants of companies or similar landowners.

In recent years a change of opinion has been apparent among the forest population in regard to the desirability of the freehold purchase of leased farmlands. In the keen competition for employment in the forests which is a necessity for the majority of the farmers, many believe that as tenants of the company they hold a more secure position as compared with the independent owners.

In order to prevent companies and forest speculators from trying to evade the results of the legislation directed against them by letting the properties go out of cultivation, this legislation has been supplemented by an Act concerning supervising of certain farm lands. The latest Act on this subject is that of 27th June, 1927, according to which the duty is imposed on special provincial institutions, called agricultural commissions, to ensure that the farmland belonging to companies and forest speculators is not so neglected that there is a risk of its going out of cultivation. Supervision is also exercised to see that necessary buildings are not taken away or allowed to fall into disrepair. If such neglect occurs, the owner must remedy it within a certain stipulated time. If he fails to do this, fines may be imposed ranging from 200 kronor to 5,000 kronor.

Transfer of Land. An important side of the land question is to provide the growing population with possibilities of acquiring land to bring under cultivation and sites for housing purposes. The activities of the State in this respect have mainly proceeded along two lines. By encouraging the movement for granting loans for the purchase of small holdings ("own homes"), the State has endeavoured

to afford people of small means desiring land the possibility of acquiring land which is for sale. But at the same time the State has afforded more direct help to people of small means to acquire their own farms or homes by granting Crown lands on cheap terms. Provisions have existed since 1928 regulating the acquisition of land by the State, with the object of securing and providing land suitable for the building of "own homes". These provisions, which have not been applied to any great extent, are now being revised by a body appointed for the purpose, the 1936 "Own Homes" Committee.

Regarding the form of these grants of land there has been considerable controversy. The usual form — where the leasehold system ("tomträttsinstitutet") cannot be employed — has been right of ownership. However, experience has shown that small holdings which have been acquired freehold have not always been put to the use intended. In order to make certain that the social object of these grants should not be evaded, there was passed in 1924 an Act concerning the right of re-purchase of real estate. The Act, which is dated 20th June, 1924, has been applied in certain cases of sale of Crown lands.

On 4th June, 1926, there was promulgated an Act concerning the granting of certain land under right of occupation. This Act aims at creating a form of lease of Crown land under secured right of possession, but has not been applied in practice, except for one isolated instance where to land donated to the Crown were attached conditions that lots should be leased under the right of occupation. A bill brought before the 1931 Riksdag for the repeal of the Act was not passed.

In the case of the supply of building sites for housing purposes, the towns in particular have made considerable use of what is called "tomträttsinstitutet" (the leasehold system). This system, which is regulated by the Act concerning the usufruct of real property of 14th June, 1907, is a form of right of possession. It may be employed in the case of a site within a town-planned area belonging to the Crown, commune, municipality, entailed estate, or foundation. The grant shall be in writing, and shall be for a certain stipulated term, at least 26 and at most 100 years. When the right to a plot has been registered before the court, it is held that buildings and other establishments intended for permanent use that occupy the site shall constitute accessories to the leasehold. This can be mort-

gaged and may thus be made use of by the holder for the purpose of obtaining credit.

While the State authorities have not hitherto been willing to assent to proposals frequently made for expropriation procedure with the object of securing fresh land for agricultural purposes, they have not hesitated to employ this procedure when it has been a question of providing housing accommodation. Swedish law permits of expropriation in several cases for housing purposes. Thus the Act of 12th May, 1917 concerning expropriation permits compulsory acquisition, firstly, to secure proper housing accommodation within built-up areas at railway stations, harbours, fishing ports, or other densely populated places; and, secondly in order to provide a site for the population of a place, or the greater part of it, to erect a building for purposes of discussion, lectures on general questions, religious enlightenment, popular education, the advancement of temperance, or other ideal purpose. By the Town-Planning Act of 29th May, 1931 expropriation may be authorized in cases where ground attached to a building block cannot be acquired on reasonable terms for building purposes and this constitutes a serious obstacle to the development of the town. — The Act concerning the right in certain cases for the holder of the right of usufruct to purchase land granted under the right of usufruct (the Squatters' Act) allows the user of a certain area, on which there is a dwelling or dwellings belonging to him, the right under certain conditions to purchase the area leased to him. The first law on this subject appeared in 1918. The present Act was promulgated on 18th June, 1925. This piece of legislation, which has been the subject of a great deal of debate, has proved to be of great importance in connection with housing conditions in rural districts. In certain cases small-holding ("own homes") loans can be obtained to finance the purchases. If the purchaser is a person of limited means, the State defrays the expenses connected with the purchase itself, such as legal fees, etc.

2. "Own Homes" and Land Settlement.

The Small Holdings and Detached Dwellings Movement.
During recent decades a question that has attracted great interest is that of providing in rural districts small detached dwellings and small

holdings. The nearest English equivalent of the Swedish designation ("egnahemsrörelsen") is "The Own Homes Movement", which will, for the sake of convenience, be used in the following account.

In view of the present population problem, the opinion is naturally becoming widespread that effective measures should be taken to increase the facilities for the rural population to remain on the land so as to ensure better subsistence from cultivation, especially by the creation of new holdings and the full development of the older ones; ever-increasing difficulties having been encountered in providing the growing population with means of subsistence out of home resources. Therefore it has been considered to be of great importance, not only that existing farm lands should be developed to the most economic and effective degree of cultivation, but also that new land should be made available by clearing and other measures and that the parcelling of land into suitable lots should be encouraged. An increased number of independent, small farms of the type that provide the farmer and his family with occupation and subsistence is desirable, not only from the point of view of appropriate production, but also with the object of satisfying the social demand that the rural population should acquire the land they till. The efforts to attain this end involve various objects, such as that of bringing under cultivation suitable uncleared land, the proper parcelling of areas already under cultivation or of older properties which are wholly or partially suited for cutting up into smaller holdings, converting leasehold into freehold tenure, bringing to full yield, by provision of supplementary or newly reclaimed land or other means, incomplete farms which hitherto have failed to provide a satisfactory living for the farmer. All such activities, and also certain measures to promote the building of dwellings owned and occupied by one family, are generally designated the "own homes movement".

The initiative of the State has led to many important measures for the promotion of the own homes movement.

In the first place may be considered the *State-supported own homes loan movement*. As early as 1904 it was decided to establish a State own homes loan fund, by means of which facilities were provided for persons of limited means to secure loans — at a cheap rate and against long-term repayment — for acquiring their own freehold homes in the rural areas. Out of this fund, which at present amounts

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to about 250 million kronor, are paid the State own homes loans.

The actual granting of loans is in the hands not of the State itself, but of responsible intermediaries, who upon application are granted annually State loans, to be used at their own risk and at their own



An "Own Home" in Västergötland (Agricultural Holding).

discretion — but under a certain measure of State control — for the provision of loans to private individuals who wish to create their own homes. At the present time the principal intermediaries are all the provincial agricultural societies, which manage the loan movement and all matters connected therewith through their own homes committees, assisted by one or several agricultural advisers and representatives in the various parishes. Further, certain communes act as intermediaries, and there are about thirty special own homes companies and own homes associations, which conform to certain regulations as to distribution of profits, organization, etc. To cover the expenses of administration and possible losses, a certain annual administration grant is made by the State, which in turn watches over the loan movement by means of its special central organ for the

"Own Homes" and Land Settlement

purpose — the State Own Homes Board — and by means of special local representatives and auditors.

Own homes loans are granted for the acquisition of holdings intended for agriculture (small holdings) or holdings with housing



An "Own Home" in Värmland.

as the chief aim (dwellings). In both cases it is a condition that the property shall be in a rural area or beyond the limits of planned town areas.

Certain personal requirements are necessary when obtaining own home loans. The applicant must be in need of substantial financial aid for carrying out the enterprise projected and possess good personal qualifications for the purpose.

The value of the own homes property when completed may not exceed 15,000 kronor (exceptionally 20,000 kronor) in the case of an agricultural holding which is undeveloped at the time of the granting of the loan, for a developed agricultural property 12,000 kronor (exceptionally 16,000 kronor), and for a dwelling 10,000 kronor. Loans for agricultural holdings are granted in the first place to pro-

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mote the creation of a new settlement, as when the intention is to create a holding by reclaiming and new building or where an agricultural area or property would be appreciably improved or extended by more effective building, cultivation and clearing of land. Loans are also granted for making freehold property of crofter holdings and other leaseholds, and for the acquisition of small company properties, and others not farmed or occupied by the owners.

In each particular case the intermediary investigates — by means of expert inspection — the suitability of the property and the land for the purpose intended, and sees that the price is reasonable, that the projected buildings and type of cultivation are appropriate, and whether the applicant may be considered to possess the necessary qualifications to make a living and manage the property efficiently.

The amount of the loan is at least one-half and, in the case of an agricultural property, at most $\frac{5}{6}$ and, in the case of a dwelling, at most $\frac{3}{4}$ of the value of the land and the existing or projected buildings as estimated by the loan intermediary.

For the extension of the area or improvement of the buildings of an agricultural holding or for converting an own home building into an agricultural holding, a supplementary loan may be granted.

The own home loan is divided into a redemption or amortization part and a permanent part. The amortization part amounts to $\frac{2}{5}$ and the permanent part to $\frac{3}{5}$ of the loan. The interest at present is for an agricultural loan 3.6 % on the amortization part and 4 % on the permanent part, while for a housing loan it is 4 % on the amortization part and 4.5 % on the permanent part.

Under the burden of depression in the agricultural industry in 1930 and following years numbers of borrowers found it difficult to meet interest and amortization due on own home loans. For this reason there was introduced by the Riksdag of 1933 a special respite arrangement, to the effect that interest and amortization instead of being settled in cash should be added to the fixed part of the loan to be paid in the same order. The arrangement, which is in the nature of an emergency measure, is still in force.

By a decree of 1933 relating to State-aided joint agriculture facilities were introduced for granting own home loans for joint (co-operative) agriculture.

With the object of aiding the own home loan takers who on acquir-

ing the property propose to improve, extend or increase the value of the agricultural holding to a considerable extent by cultivation and building work, there are made — in conformity with a special arrangement introduced by the 1923 Riksdag — what are called bonus loans in conjunction with the own home loan. The bonus loans, which shall not exceed 1,500 kronor, are granted chiefly for the carrying out of productive work, such as reclaiming land, the erection of out-houses, the establishment of dung-yards, and the improvement of arable land. The bonus loan, which is advanced as the prescribed work proceeds, is considered to be repaid when the work is completed, and thus constitutes a free State contribution towards new cultivation.

From the commencement of the own home loan movement in 1905 down to 1935, own home loans have been granted for the creation of, in round figures, 80,000 own homes, of which about 48,000 are agricultural holdings. In recent years the total of annual advances has amounted to 20 million kronor. An enquiry carried out in 1929 by the Own Homes Board showed that quite 75 % of the own home loan takers were doing well. Where failure has occurred it can in most cases be attributed to the borrower's personal circumstances.

In addition, with the object of facilitating the acquisition of land for the creation of own homes, the State has instituted a special *land facilities fund*, from which loans are granted on advantageous terms for the purchase and parcelling into own home plots of large properties suitable for the purpose. By a decision of the 1936 Riksdag, funds have been made specially available for acquiring land in the two most northerly provinces.

Besides the State-supported and State-controlled activities in this sphere, there are a great number of private business enterprises engaged in cutting up and selling properties, and whose operations far exceed in extent those of the State. Thanks to the great number of properties which are in the market and which are difficult to keep together in their entirety, and owing to the increased possibilities for small buyers to obtain credit by means of own home loans, the operations of these private enterprises will very largely be directed towards the cutting up of estates and the sale of land for own homes and small farmsteads.

Settlement of the Crown Lands of Norrland. Since privately allocated homesteads and Crown farm-holdings have by assignment

become segregated from Crown lands, the question has arisen of the provision of small holdings for lumbermen on the surplus areas and Crown lands in Norrland.

In conformity with a decision of the Riksdag, detailed regulations were laid down in 1891, governing the provision of so-called *forest-crofters' homes* in Crown parks in the province of Norrbotten. Under these regulations leases were to be granted for a maximum term of 20 years by the State Forest Board in respect of land suitable for cultivation and settlement. The lessee was given, free of charge, timber for the erection of buildings on the holding and for other purposes. During the early period of the lease the crofter was allowed to cultivate the land without payment or rent to the Crown, and was besides exempt from rates and taxes on the holding, but on the other hand he was under obligation to cultivate the ground and build on the site. Furthermore, he had to act as keeper on the adjoining Crown forest, and also, if required, to carry out work in the forest at current wages. After the fulfilment of his obligation to erect buildings, the crofter was to receive a grant of 500 kronor for cultivation and building purposes. After the expiration of the years of exemption the crofter was to pay a certain rent to the Crown. If he had properly cultivated the land and erected the necessary buildings, he was entitled to a fresh lease at a fixed rent.

In the year 1909, however, it was resolved that small holdings should no longer be granted on the above lines. Instead, according to a Royal Decree promulgated on the 18th June, 1909, so-called *agricultural holdings* were to be supplied, and these holdings were to be established on surplus land in Crown lands in the six northernmost provinces. By the terms of this Royal Decree, agricultural leases are granted for a term of 50 years, the first 10 years being rent-free, thereafter at a rent corresponding to 3.6 % interest on the value of the site and the timber taken for building and also on the cultivation and building grant received. This grant was fixed at 750 kronor.

These regulations have gradually been somewhat altered, so that the cultivation and building grants now amount altogether to 2,000 kronor. The rent is calculated only on the value of the site — which has been fixed at a maximum of 20 kronor per hectare — and upon the cultivation and building grant received.

The area of land allotted to each forest small-holding and agri-

cultural holding is as a rule 3 to 4 hectares and rarely exceeds 6 hectares.

Since 1929 there has existed another form of allotment, called *Crown allotments*, designed to replace forest holdings and agricultural holdings. The difference between this and the earlier type is that Crown allotments may only consist of areas allotted by the State Forest Board in consultation with the agricultural commissions. The aim of this provision is to avoid settlement, as often occurred previously, taking place in localities lacking adequate cultivation and earning possibilities.

On the Norrland Crown lands there are about 2,000 forest holdings, agricultural holdings and Crown allotments, the majority in the two northernmost provinces.

With a view to promoting more strenuous and conscientious efforts to further the settling of families on Crown land in Norrland and Dalecarlia, a *S e t t l e m e n t C o m m i t t e e* was appointed in 1916, which in the following year submitted a proposal for the carrying out of experiments in colonization in certain Crown parks. The principles laid down for this work have in all essentials formed the basis of the later proposals by the Settlement Committee and of the Government's final decisions on the question.

The Royal Decree of the 26th June, 1925 (with amendments) gives the provisions governing the *leasing of land to settlers*. These lay down that land is only to be leased to such extent as the Crown and the Riksdag resolve to adopt measures for settlement. The aim and purpose of the leases are to further agriculture and the establishment of small holdings, intended in the first instance for the local population. Settlements are granted only according as there is considered to be available supplementary work to enable the settler and his family to obtain the necessary subsistence. The settler is allotted 8 to 17 hectares of cultivable land, and besides as large an area of forest land as with ordinary care and good management will suffice to produce an annual supply of 15 to 20 cubic metres of timber. The lease is granted for 15 years. During the first ten years the settler is exempt from the payment of rent. The rent is fixed at 3.6 % of the value of the cultivated land and the building grant received. Within fifteen years of entering into possession the settler must have cultivated a certain proportion of the cultivable area allotted. To

assist him in his cultivation he enjoys certain grants from the State, with no obligation to refund.

For the buildings of his holding, the settler receives from the State a building grant of up to 3,500 kronor, in certain exceptional cases as much as 4,500 kronor. As a rule the settler himself takes in hand the erection of the buildings, but in certain cases the State takes charge of this work. Furthermore, the settler receives, free of charge, the building timber he requires, together with the necessary fuel. Besides this, the settler receives grazing ground for the first period of the lease on surrounding Crown land for the cattle winter-fed on the settlement. Any drainage work considered necessary for facilitating the work, as well as a certain amount of ditching, is attended to by the State.

After the settler has fulfilled his obligations to cultivate the ground and erect the buildings, he is entitled to acquire the holding as freehold. The purchase price, the amount of which must be stated in the lease and fixed on the basis of the value of the land and timber and the building-grant received, has to be paid mainly in accordance with the principles laid down for own home loans. If a settler has not redeemed the holding within the first term of the lease, he can get the property leased to him for a further fifteen years on the same terms as before. In recent years efforts have been chiefly directed to ensuring proper utilization of settlements laid out earlier. At the present time there are about 475 laid out and occupied.

The work of settlement is directed either by a separate settlement board in every province, with, as a rule, the provincial governor as chairman, and two other members, one of them being a representative of the State's local forest administration, or else by the State Forest Board. The management and control of the work of the boards is exercised by the State Own Homes Board (see p. 271).

Work for Housing Improvement in Rural Districts. As a link in the measures for combating unemployment the 1933 Riksdag decided that work for the improvement of housing should be put into operation in rural districts. By means of such work, which was not directly productive, it would be possible indirectly to provide employment for the country's industry to an appreciable extent, while at the same time the shortage of habitable dwellings would be remedied.

The regulations governing this work were issued in the Decree of

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30th June, 1933 (No. 473) relating to improvement grants and new construction loans for the encouragement of building activity in rural areas. The sphere of activity was limited to rural districts with the exception of densely populated communities, but has since been extended to comprise those parts of urban districts where the public health regulations for rural districts are applicable, as also to certain municipal communities.

I m p r o v e m e n t g r a n t s may be made for repairs necessitated from a health point of view and for other improvement work on dwelling houses as well as for the erection of new dwelling houses to replace existing ones which fall short of standard, provided that the dwelling house will be required in the future and the applicant is in need of financial aid. The grant shall correspond to a certain proportion of the estimated cost of the building operations. In general the grant shall be kept below 50 per cent of the cost. The top limit for the grant has been fixed at a sum of 1,000 kronor for a dwelling.

N e w c o n s t r u c t i o n l o a n s are subject to 4 % interest, require approved security and must be redeemed within 20 years. They may be made for the same description of building operations as improvement grants and under the same conditions, with the exception that new construction loans may also be granted to persons who are not in need of financial assistance to carry through the work. The loan must not exceed 70 or together with improvement grant 80 per cent. of the building cost. The highest amount in respect of a new construction has been fixed at the sum of 3,000 kronor per dwelling. Should there be made, for the same building operation, both a new construction loan and an improvement grant, then the new construction loan may not exceed 2,000 kronor for each separate dwelling.

The work is in charge of (1) the health committees of the different communes, (2) the own homes committees of the agricultural societies, and (3) the State Own Homes Board. The health committees receive applications, make enquiries, communicate their opinion of the application to the own homes committee and supervise the building operations. The own homes committees decide respecting grant and loan, pay these out, administer the security and act as intermediaries between the receiver of grant or loan and the State exchequer in the matter of paying

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interest and redemption. The Own Homes Board collaborates in the fixing of the amounts which shall be at the disposal of the various own homes committees for the work, constitutes a court of appeal concerning the decisions of the own homes committees in loan matters and in general directs and supervises the work. The costs of the or-



Small-holding Farm rebuilt with the Aid of an Improvement Grant and a Building Loan (Gävleborg County).

ganization are defrayed out of State funds, except that the costs of each health committee in connection with the work are covered by the commune concerned.

Appropriations made for housing improvement in rural areas amount altogether to 40.5 mill. kronor.

The sum distributed amounted on 31/12, 1936 to 38,650,000 kronor, of which about 7.5 mill. kronor represented new construction loans. The number of completed building operations at the same date reached 32,164 and it is estimated that about 3,800,000 working days were spent on the work.

Leased Own Homes. With the object of providing possibilities

of occupation for self-support by granting of leases of certain properties to persons of no means or of small means, the leased own homes movement was introduced in 1934 by the decision to establish a Leased Own Homes Fund and a Lease Loan Fund, to be administered by the exchequer.

The provisions for the movement are to be found in the Decree of 15th June, 1934. The activities in connection therewith are in charge of the State Land Board in accordance with instructions issued 30th June, 1934.

Leased own homes are allotted on land belonging to the Crown and others, and the State sees to their being made ready for occupation before allotment. In conjunction with the allotment the tenant may obtain a loan from the Lease Loan Fund for the acquisition of implements, seed, fertilizer, fodder and the like (lease loan). The leased own homes comprise on the average an area of about 13 hectares, an area that can be worked without employing hired labour while permitting the tenant to derive from it his chief sustenance. The lease is in general for 5 years, on the expiry of which a tenant who has properly handled the property has a certain right to renew the lease. A tenant who has displayed ability and diligence may be allowed to take over his leased own home, if he has repaid his lease loan and is otherwise in a position to carry out the purchase.

Up to now 82 leased own homes have been allotted. To provide the necessary capital the 1936 Riksdag appropriated 1.8 mill. kronor for the Leased Own Homes Fund and 175,000 kronor for the Lease Loan Fund.

Workmen's Small Holdings. For the issue of loans with the object of giving forestry workers, raftsmen and similar employees opportunities to acquire small farm holdings, designed to provide the occupier with support from farming in addition to his other occupation, the establishment of the Workmen's Small Holdings Loan Fund was decided upon by the 1933 Riksdag. Regulations regarding the fund are issued in the Decree of 14th June, 1933 relating to the State-aided workmen's small holdings movement. The sphere of operations was at first restricted to Norrland and certain communes in Värmland and Kopparberg provinces, but has since been extended to cover the whole country.

The cost of laying out a workman's small holding may not exceed

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6,000 kronor. That is the highest amount of loan that may be granted. Of the loan not more than $\frac{1}{3}$ is reckoned to be spent on acquiring the land and, if necessary, bringing it under cultivation; this constitutes the fixed part of the loan. The remainder of the loan represents the amortization part. During the first five years



Worker's Home on a small Holding (Kopparberg County).

the loan is free from amortization. After that the amortization part must be repaid at the rate of one thirtieth each year. Until this amortization is completed the loan is free of interest. After that (i. e. after 35 years) the fixed part of the loan shall bear interest in accordance with the provisions for own home loans.

The loan operations, which are under the supervision and control of the State Own Homes Board, are managed in the commune where the property is situated by a specially appointed workmen's small holdings committee or, where the operations may be expected to be on a small scale, by the communal council. The State bears the main responsibility in connection with any loss arising in respect of the loans.

To facilitate the acquisition by the communes of suitable land the possibility has been given to them of obtaining State funds on favourable terms in the form of advances from the land facilities

fund as working capital for the purchase and development of property suitable for the establishment of workmen's small holdings.

Altogether 21.9 mill. kronor has been appropriated as working capital for the Workmen's Small Holdings Fund. The number of workmen's small holdings loans granted amounted at the close of 1935 to 2,780.

Farm-Workers' Dwellings Loans. To encourage progressive improvement in respect of dwellings forming part of the wages of farm-workers, the 1935 Riksdag established the loan fund for farm-workers' dwellings, which is administered by the exchequer. Regulations for loans from the fund are to be found in the Decree of 28th June, 1935.

The aim of the loan is to encourage the erection or fitting up of farm-workers' dwellings of a good type and suitable for their purpose from the social and hygienic point of view. Special attention shall be directed to encouraging efforts to provide inhabitants in the district concerned with healthy dwellings. The operations, which cover the whole country without regard to administrative divisions, are managed and supervised by the Own Homes Board with the collaboration of the own homes committees of agricultural societies and of the health committees of the communes.

Loans from the fund are granted by the Own Homes Board under the designation of farm-workers' dwellings loans to the owners or tenants of farms, either for the erection of new farm-workers' dwellings or for reconstruction and other extensive work on any dwellings already existing. It is not necessary to ascertain whether the applicant is in need of financial aid. Farm-workers' dwellings loans amount to not more than 3,000 kronor for each separate dwelling and may not exceed 70 % of the estimated cost of the whole building work. The loan is subject to 3.6 % interest and amortization is at the rate of $\frac{1}{20}$ annually. Approved security must be provided for the loan, in the first place a mortgage up to $\frac{5}{6}$ of the assessed value of the property. In conjunction with the granting of the loan the own homes board must approve plans and designs for the building work.

For the budget year 1936/37 was appropriated 300,000 kronor to provide the fund's capital.

The Allotment Garden Movement. In Sweden the allotment garden movement dates its origin from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. For many years in the Northern countries during the summer months there has been a regular exodus from the towns. The contrast between the long, dark, and cold winter



Allotment Cottage on the Outskirts of Stockholm.

and the bright, sunny summer with its "white" nights has created in town-dwellers an urge to go back to nature in summer, there for a spell to lead a healthy existence, coupled with voluntary rural pursuits. Formerly for people of narrow means this summer sojourn used generally to be limited to a comparatively brief stay in the vicinity of the towns. A change arrived when, round the outskirts of towns, allotment gardens began to be planned, in which every town-dweller was offered the opportunity of acquiring a plot of garden land and building a hut or bungalow, where he might spend his weekends, or even live the whole summer. In South Sweden the first allotment gardens were founded in 1894, but were not very extensive. Not until the turn of the century did allotments begin to be extensively laid out, chiefly on the Danish model, starting with the towns of South

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Scania. In Stockholm allotment gardens were first established in 1904, after which the movement extended rapidly, a large amount of the credit being due to the Allotment Gardens Association of Stockholm, which for the following 15 years was mainly responsible for the movement in the Stockholm area. Among the objects of the



Allotments on the Outskirts of Stockholm.

Association are the laying out of allotment gardens on a pre-arranged plan and ensuring that the huts or bungalows erected are in conformity with standard plans provided by the Association.

The post-war depression, involving shortage of foodstuffs, led to a very extensive development of the allotment gardens, though mostly in the form of land intended for the production of vegetables. At the close of the depression the greater part of this kitchen garden land was given up, but some of it was converted into real allotment gardens. An enquiry by the Swedish Towns Association in 1934 ascertained that the number of allotment gardens in Sweden then amounted to 32,000, but that of these some 7,000 should be regarded more as kitchen gardens. At the time some 963 hectares of land were given up to the allotment gardens throughout the country. The greatest number of allotments is naturally to be found in Stock-

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holm with 5,600, followed by Malmö with 5,200 allotments. Of the remaining towns only 7 have more than 1,000 allotments, namely Gothenburg, Landskrona, Hälsingborg, Norrköping, Nyköping, Ystad, and Jönköping.

The greatest density was found in Nyköping, with no fewer than 92 allotments per 1,000 inhabitants. Considerable sums have been provided from both public and private funds for laying out allotment gardens, which charges are as a rule refunded by the allotment holders in addition to paying rent for the ground in its undeveloped state. As a rule the allotments are laid out on ground allocated by the respective communes, in certain cases the commune itself renting out the lots direct to the allotment holders, though in the majority of cases the commune allocates the ground to specially formed co-operative societies which in turn let out the lots and are responsible for the charges on the land. The length of lease varies considerably, in some communes being only one year at a time, but there are comparatively many with contracts for longer periods, as in Stockholm, where it varies between 10 and 25 years. A trial has also been made in Stockholm with laying out an allotment garden on which lots can be taken on leasehold for 40 years.

As the allotments are to be considered as complementary to dwellings in the town there are as a rule erected on them merely small summer-houses as shelter from rain or for occasional nights. Still, in the large towns, especially with long distances from the allotment ground to the town dwellings, there has been a tendency to advance from the primitive summer-house type on small allotments of 200 to 250 sq. m. to more solid bungalows occupied by the family throughout the summer on larger allotments of 300 to 400 sq. m. In Stockholm no more than a 22 sq. m. building area is permitted, and moreover the contract always contains a prohibition against living in the bungalow during winter.

IX. The Housing Question.

1. Survey of Housing Conditions in Sweden.

Housing Conditions in Rural Areas. While the housing question in the towns is chiefly a problem of overcrowding and rent, in rural areas it is — combined with crowding — mainly the nature of

the dwelling that has the most serious effects. From a special enquiry made in connection with the 1935/36 census, which covered 100 rural communes principally agricultural and distributed all over the country, it appeared that close upon 15 % of the dwellings were described as dilapidated and 9 % as damp. Moreover the height of the rooms was below 2.1 m. in 21 % of the small dwellings and 12 % of the living rooms were lacking in heating facilities. — As hinted above, however, over-crowding in rural districts is also often serious. Certainly the smallest types of dwellings not exceeding one room and kitchen (constituting about 33 % in the communes referred to) are not so prevalent as in the towns (50 %), but since the rural household is on the average larger than that of the towns, the comparative number of premises with more than 2 occupants per living room (about 11 %) is still practically as large. Moreover, certain rooms are not fully utilized. In the above-named special investigation it was found that only the kitchen was used as bedroom in 31 % of the dwellings consisting of 1 room and kitchen. Such a "best room" system, in conjunction with the lack of adjustment often existing between dwelling type and family type led to 29 % of the occupants of dwellings of up to 2 rooms and kitchen sleeping in rooms or kitchens where at least 4 persons passed the night. Of members of families living in small dwellings with three or more children under 15 years there were nearly 63 % who spent their nights in such over-crowded bedrooms or "sleeping kitchens".

The housing conditions in the rural districts appear however to have improved considerably in recent years. A factor that has specially contributed to this is the substantial grants appropriated by the Government since 1933 towards improving unhealthy dwellings in the rural districts and promoting the "own homes" and workmen's small holdings movement (see p. 276, 268, 279).

Housing Conditions in Towns and Urban Areas. The building conditions in Swedish towns differ from those prevailing in countries like England, Holland and Belgium, where mostly even in the towns there are only one or two families to a house, Swedish conditions being comparable with those of the other Northern countries and Central Europe, where the old burgher houses of the towns have to a large extent been succeeded by large blocks of flats.

The distribution of dwellings according to the legal basis of occupa-

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tion is illustrated by the following figures, relating to 45 Swedish towns and localities, which were covered by the housing census of 1933. The largest group consists of rented flats in buildings housing several families (52.3 %), after which come own home dwellings (13.5 %); flats occupied by owners constituted 5.9 %, while sub-let apartments in one and two family buildings reached 8.9 %. Of the remaining dwellings 2.7 % consisted of flats in communal and foundation buildings, 10.4 % of flats in employers' houses, 2.1 % of co-operative dwellings and 2.1 % of other occupied premises. Empty dwellings at the close of 1933 represented 2.0 % of the total, but the figure rises to 3.2 % if we take instead the percentage of dwellings to let compared with the total dwellings for occupation by tenants. During the last decades there has been some increase in the number of houses occupied by the owners, indicating an upward movement of own homes activity and housing society operations.

Dividing the urban dwellings according to the number of rooms, the official housing census presents the following figures:

Year of housing census	P e r c e n t a g e			
	single room, single kitchen, 2 rooms, etc.	1 room and kitchen	2 rooms and kitchen	3 or more rooms and kitchen
1912/15....	13.9	42.4	22.7	21.0
1920 ...	13.1	42.5	23.8	20.6
1933	15.5	37.7	25.9	20.9

The distribution of the different categories of dwellings, of which the most numerous dwellings, those including up to 2 rooms and kitchen, are usually grouped under the designation small dwellings, has thus not altered much during the past twenty years. Still, on the one hand the smallest of the dwellings (usually a single room, possible with kitchenette), and on the other hand dwellings of two rooms and kitchen have increased principally at the expense of dwellings of 1 room and kitchen, while the groups of medium and large dwellings have remained fairly constant.

The Quality of Dwellings is in Swedish urban districts placed under the continuous supervision of the housing inspection authorities

and has also been the subject of special statistical investigation. On this basis it can be stated that the Swedish worker's dwelling of one room and kitchen ordinarily measures about 30—40 sq. m. (net), which does not appear to vary very much from the floor space generally at the disposal of the less well-to-do even in countries where workers' dwellings usually consist of several though smaller rooms. A tendency towards such a subdivision of the floor space has in recent years also appeared in Sweden, at least in some of the large towns, while even the smaller types of dwellings have been equipped more and more with various modern conveniences in the shape of electric light, gas for cooking, central heating, bathroom, and so on. While central heating existed in 1920 only in 5.7 % of all dwellings and in 3.1 % of small dwellings, the corresponding figures for 1933 were 30.7 and 25.1 %. As regards the frequency of bath (or shower) rooms the percentage was 16.0 in 1933 against 5.9 in 1920. Even at the close of 1933, however, about 25 % of the dwellings in towns, townships and urban districts (outside Stockholm) were without water laid on and (or) drainage arrangements, and nearly 40 % had no entrance hall, however small. A special enquiry in 1935 covering 14 provincial towns indicated that 3—4 % of the occupied dwellings ought to be condemned. Moreover, 21 % of small dwellings were considered difficult to keep heated; about 22 % were described as draughty and 8 % as damp. Particularly remarkable was the fact that the sanitary convenience was common to several families in respect of no less than 66 % of the small dwellings investigated. It was further found that large families with several children under age occupied unsatisfactory dwellings to a greater extent than other families. — Yet, although the quality of the dwellings leaves much to be desired, slum quarters are very rarely found in Swedish cities.

Supply of Dwellings. To a certain extent this can be expressed in terms of unoccupied dwellings available, mentioned in the foregoing. The reserve of dwellings often shows rapid changes, as is illustrated by the fact that in Stockholm the number of dwellings to let fell from an average of 2.9 % at the close of 1933 to 2.1 % in 1934 rising subsequently to 2.3 % for 1935 and falling again to 1.6 % in 1936.

Another expression for the improvement in housing supply which took place after the discontinuance in 1923 of rent restriction is pro-

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vided by the following summary, relating to estimates obtained from the municipal authorities of 39 towns in respect of the dwellings available at the 1st October (the date when most removals take place in all classes) for the years 1923—1936. In this connection the data concerning the supply of dwellings have been combined with figures based on the trend of economic conditions in such a manner that the different degrees denoted by: insufficient, scanty, sufficient and good supply have been expressed by the figures 1, 2, 3 and 4.

	1923	1925	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
All dwellings .	1.65	2.04	2.51	2.58	2.78	2.84	2.85	2.81	2.77

Density of Occupation. A summary gauge of the average congestion of population in dwellings and thereby to a certain extent of the standard of housing is given by the numbers of occupants per 100 rooms. The following table shows the course of development in this respect in 52 localities up to and including 1933:

	1912/15	1920	1926	1933
Small dwellings	167	164	151	139
All dwellings .	135	134	124	117

The density of occupation altered but little during the period 1912/15—1920, but after 1920 a not insignificant reduction in density occurred. It should be noted that the increased space in dwellings was more appreciable in the small dwellings than in the larger dwellings.

In conjunction with the decrease in density of occupation the number of densely populated dwellings has gone down considerably. If we designate as crowded (or overcrowded) each dwelling with more than 2 occupants to a room the changes are illustrated by the following figures, relating to dwellings with at the most 3 rooms and kitchen in 52 localities excluding Stockholm:

	1912/15	1920	1926	1933
Percentage of dwellings with more than 2 occupants per room	22.8	21.0	16.0	10.7
Percentage of occupants living in such dwellings	38.4	35.9	28.8	19.9

Since the type of houses has not altered, the decrease in the figures must mainly be ascribed to the decline in the number of children in

Survey of Housing Conditions in Sweden

the less well-to-do classes. It follows that overcrowding in the case of families with several children has decreased to a smaller extent than overcrowding in general. The housing census of 1933 showed that about 40 % (in working class families about 50 %) of all families with three or more children under 15 years were living in dwellings of not more than 1 room and kitchen.

Even in the towns there exists an extensive "best room system" causing the space in the rooms used for sleeping to be often altogether insufficient. Thus the above-quoted investigation in 14 towns showed that 32 % of the living rooms used as bedrooms by families with several children were accommodating at least 5 persons at night. Moreover it was found that of the adult occupants of small dwellings, about 20 % had their sleeping place in rooms or kitchens where the rooms were shared by adult or adolescent persons of opposite sexes who were not married to each other.

Rents and Increases in Rents. The rent levels for smaller dwellings round about the year 1933 may be seen from the following table relating to 71 different localities.

	Mean rent in kr. $\frac{1}{10}$ 33— $\frac{30}{10}$ 34 for dwellings consisting of			
	1 room	1 room + kitchen	2 rooms + kitchen	3 rooms + kitchen
Stockholm	611	748	1,124	1,609
70 other towns	277	381	605	898

As regards rises in rents since the years prior to the world war it is difficult to estimate the amount, since the quality of dwellings has appreciably improved by the provision of central heating, bathrooms, etc. (cf. above). In the cost of living index of the Social Board for October 1936 the increase in rents is estimated at 96 %, while the rise in the total cost of living amounted to 57 %. The rise in rents attained its peak in the years 1931—1933 with an estimated average increase of 106 % and has since been succeeded by a slight downward tendency.

Housing Production. The extent of building activity (a) in all the localities (now over 600) where building regulations are applied,

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and (b) in 294 urban districts, and concerning which figures are available for all years, is shown for the years 1926—1935 in the table below. It should be mentioned that the figures given are the gross figures, which can only give a more exact picture of the influence of building activity on the increase in the supply of dwellings after deduction has been made to allow for the number of dwellings which have disappeared by demolition (equivalent to about $\frac{1}{10}$ of the increase).

Number completed		1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
dwellings	a	11,221	15,095	16,399	16,598	22,381	22,620	20,473	14,958	19,163	29,764
	b	11,087	14,890	16,285	16,035	21,636	21,175	19,062	13,195	17,304	26,779
living rooms or kitchens	a	13,982	11,166	46,795	48,244	62,108	63,086	57,676	46,488	58,003	87,056
	b	13,515	13,577	46,174	46,254	59,389	59,161	52,425	39,987	51,080	76,503

Even if account be taken of the fact that the population has in the last ten years increased by a full 20 % within the growing range of statistically reported urban districts, the building production of recent years shows a liveliness which greatly exceeds any previous construction of dwellings in this country. This upward trend should be viewed in conjunction with the fact that the number of families increases considerably more rapidly than does the population. In the sharply rising figures of the table it appears that actually it was only the extensive building dispute of 1933—34 which was reflected in a temporary slowing down. Building activity has also been considerable in the rural districts (estimated in the neighbourhood of 15,000 dwellings a year), where it has been encouraged by the State-aided own homes movement and the efforts made to improve housing.

A noticeable feature of recent building activities has been the marked tendency to erect small dwellings, to a considerably greater extent than formerly provided with bath and shower and other modern amenities. A further characteristic is that in recent years 10—20 % of the total increment of dwellings is due to non-speculative building activity, which is now for the most part supported by co-operative housing societies (see p. 299). Another feature is the considerable financial support which has been afforded certain branches of building since 1933, especially for the provision of spacious and cheap dwellings for large families (see p. 296).

2. Measures for the Erection of Dwellings.

Public Measures. Government housing measures were formerly confined to controlling private initiative by the issue of general regulations, and to granting the communal authorities powers to adopt such measures as local circumstances required. Building enterprise in the cities has thus been controlled by town-planning legislation — the general layout of the town requiring Government sanction in each case — and by a Building Ordinance, applicable to all towns in the country, whereby the municipal authorities are empowered to exercise a careful control over town building by means of local building regulations. The relevant bye-laws, which were conceived in what was, for the period, a singularly modern spirit, and which have exercised a considerable influence on urban building, were revised in 1931. Bye-laws in regard to sanitation have also been issued, empowering and enjoining the communal authorities to carry out the inspection of houses. As a result of the revision of these laws in 1936 the health authorities have been given wider powers for dealing with bad housing conditions. The efforts of the local authorities to eliminate by means of bye-laws housing accommodation that is both hygienically out-of-date and unsatisfactory from the standpoint of social progress are increasing in scope and importance.

Rent conditions are regulated by legislation which contains certain provisions of a binding nature. An inquiry into a reform of the Rents Act on social lines is proceeding. The mortgage system, etc. is also, of course, governed by legislation.

Since 1907 a leasehold system has been introduced into Swedish law and is utilized extensively in certain quarters, especially in the suburbs of the capital, in the supply of land by the municipal authorities for the erection of detached buildings.

Even before the War the State had taken active steps to promote the housing credit system. Thus, in 1904, the State instituted a so-called "Own-Homes Loan Fund", the object of which was to grant loans to persons of slender means for building houses of their own. The scheme applied not only to dwelling-houses but also to buildings for agricultural purposes. (See p. 269.)

Further, in 1909, the State contributed towards the establishment of a Credit Institute for granting primary credits for

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housing purposes in towns and urban districts. This organization consists of a central bond-issuing banking institution — The City Mortgage Bank of the Kingdom of Sweden (Konungariket Sveriges Stads-hypotekskassa) — which grants loans to local unlimited-liability associations of borrowers — the "city mortgage societies". In contradistinction to the lending operations of the "Own Homes Loan Fund", this institution grants loans also — and indeed principally — for the construction of large blocks of flats, and the encouragement of new building enterprise is not its special function. Loans are limited to 50 % and in the six largest cities to 60 %, of the value of the property. The State has advanced to the Mortgage Bank a capital stock of, at present, 125 mill. kronor; it appoints the board and the auditors and decides the question of discharging the board from liability. Although the State has thus contributed largely to the establishment and maintenance of this organization, the latter is not to be regarded as a State institution. It is only in the last resort, for instance, that the State is liable for the bonds issued — and then not for a larger amount than the capital stock it has contributed. The Mortgage Bank's total resources amounted at the close of 1936 to about 952 million kronor.

During the later part of the Great War, when its economic consequences were having an increasingly disturbing effect on the housing market, the State was obliged to intervene and adopted emergency measures, which, as in most other European countries, consisted mainly in legislation to regulate rents — particularly with a view to preventing unreasonable increase — and in lending financial support to the construction of houses, which by that time had been brought to a complete standstill.

The first Rent Restrictions Act was passed in the spring of 1917. The Act provided from the outset for a certain systematic adjustment of rents to an estimated higher and more stable price level, and for an equally systematic and gradual abolition of the restrictions. The Act was repealed on September 30, 1923. Immediately after the restrictions were abolished, the index number for rents differed by 1 point only from the general cost-of-living index number in Sweden. In the year in which the Act was repealed the production of houses had again started and reached a figure in excess of that for the last pre-war year, which was characterized by brisk building activity. The

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production of houses has since then proceeded at high pressure, the output in several years reaching record figures.

State support was commenced in the same year as rent restrictions were introduced. To start with, the State support was paid out as a grant, without any obligation as to repayment or payment of interest, and was intended to correspond to that part of the increased costs of building which would probably have to be written off when the expected fall in prices came. Furthermore, in 1920 the State Housing Loan Fund was established in order to grant credits to building contractors. Two years later State support ceased, but the granting of loans out of the Housing Loan Fund continued up to and including 1930. Now this lending has also come to an end.

These State measures have been carried out in close co-operation with the communes, which have had to distribute the grants and loans on their own responsibility. During the closing years of State support some of the larger co-operative associations and a few own homes societies received permission to act as intermediaries in the distribution of loans. The communes have carried out a certain amount of building activity themselves, but the main part of the money was allotted to private builders, preferably builders of own homes, and, during recent years, to an increasing extent to co-operative building undertakings. The loans were issued as second mortgages; a maximum limit for loans was fixed towards the end of the period, viz. 75 %, and in certain cases 80 % of the value of the estate. It was assumed that primary credits would be raised in the open market. A definite distinction has been made between State grants and loans, and the Government has not made any promises or otherwise held out any prospects of the loans being written off in the future. The terms of the loans have by degrees been brought to conform in a certain degree to those obtaining in the open market.

As regards the result of this activity it may be stated that up to the close of 1930 there had been approved for receipt of assistance altogether 11,000 buildings — of which 9,754 own homes — comprising 31,828 dwellings with an aggregate of 92,629 rooms (including kitchens) and representing a total cost of something over 362 million kronor. The financial aid granted for this construction amounted to 83.4 million kronor in loans and 19.6 million kronor in grants. The greater part of the buildings thus approved had at the same date been reported as completed.

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The dwellings provided in this way may be said to be of good quality on the whole. To guide and help the builders of own homes, standard plans were prepared and made available at a low price.

The granting of loans from the State Housing Loan Fund was to ease the position caused by the housing shortage and was designed to constitute a provisional and restricted solution of the question of secondary credit for housing purposes. During the later phases of this activity there was introduced on the initiative of the State a more fundamental and permanent settlement of this matter of credit so important for the housing question.

By decision of the 1929 Riksdag there was founded in 1930 a new organization for secondary credit. The organization is in its essentials designed on the pattern of the City Mortgage Bank. It consists like the latter of a central bond-issuing office the *S w e d i s h Housing Credit Office* (*Svenska Bostadskreditkassan*), provided with a State basic fund of 30 million kronor, together with local loan-issuing societies, housing credit societies, affiliated to the central office. Loans are issued up to 75 % of the value of the property for house property in towns, townships and urban districts. Both the private borrowers and the societies are jointly and severally responsible. To provide for this loan-giving activity there has been prescribed a comparatively large accumulation of funds. While the State in connection with the provision of the basic fund ensured for itself a certain control of the organization, the State participation is not so marked as in the City Mortgage Bank. The head management is centred in a delegate body which in principle represents an independent board run by the borrowers.

The Office had at the close of 1936 attained a balance of about 110 million kronor.

The decline in prosperity with resulting unemployment which made itself felt during the 1930's had its effect also on house production. While the shortage of houses during the post-war depression years might be regarded as remedied, the possibility was considered — for reasons of employment policy — of stimulating private building activity, with a view to providing an increased demand for labour on the open market. The measures in question should therefore be regarded chiefly as a link in the State unemployment policy.

For this purpose the 1933 Riksdag appropriated 5 million kronor. Out of these funds were granted loans to building con-

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tractors for new production of dwelling houses of any description, but only in towns and urban districts. The loans should be granted through the commune concerned, but without guarantee of the commune, so that any risk remained with the State. To cover this risk the borrower had to contribute annually 1 % to an indemnity fund, which amounts would be eventually refunded to the extent that they had not required to be drawn on.

The loan was granted as a tertiary credit, the maximum being 90 % of the value of the property. In this connection there was also imposed an important proviso, namely that the State loan was to correspond to not more than a fifth part of such credit as could be with better priority and regular terms obtained on the open market. The maximum amount of the State loan thus shrank in proportion as private credit-givers by reluctance to give credit displayed a critical attitude to a building project. By this automatically operating dependence on the judgment of private local lenders there was provided a certain guarantee that the State lending should not be made available for enabling the execution of building projects which were economically or otherwise unsuitable.

The State lending thus inaugurated was followed up by decision of the 1935 Riksdag, which appropriated 3 million kronor for the purpose. A fund was established for the purpose, the loan fund for house building in towns and urban districts. The loans were made on the same terms as those stated above. A new principle was, however, that the loans should not be made only for new construction but also for reconstruction of older buildings. The object aimed at was to encourage modernizing of the large number of dwellings which, being completely antiquated, threatened to form slums but were yet considered to represent a considerable value which could be preserved. The reconstruction loan was not granted for more than half the reconstruction costs, so that the owner had to procure at least as large an amount as the State loan; this provision also involved a certain guarantee against economically unsuitable reconstruction projects.

It is obvious that the lending for reconstruction purposes was quite clearly inspired by social considerations, which had not from the beginning influenced the loans for new building, these having been dictated solely by employment policy.

Since 1935 the situation on the labour market has generally im-

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proved and private building enterprise has once more shown strong progress. The labour market policy point of view has therefore fallen into the background for the present and the need to stimulate new production is not so great. Chiefly for reasons of social housing policy the Riksdag in 1936 granted 2 million kronor for increasing the above loan fund, which at present is only open for loans for reconstruction.

A proposal for further augmenting the fund by 1.5 million kronor, still exclusively for reconstruction, was laid before the 1937 Riksdag. It may be remarked that lending for reconstruction purposes should be regarded as an experiment which can hardly bring about a general solution of the housing problem.

The above State measures, originally having an unemployment policy aim but now embodying a certain specific housing policy, have, insofar as towns are concerned, one thing in common, namely that they are based on general economic grounds, that is as regards the possibilities of returns from the dwellings on the open market. It is notorious that there exist unsatisfactory housing conditions which are not governed by a lack of availability of satisfactory premises but are entirely due to a lack of financial resources on the part of the occupants, chiefly persons in receipt of poor relief. It has hitherto been considered and is still considered to be the business of the commune to see that the housing standard for these people does not fall to an insanitary level or render dwellings unfit for human occupation.

There exists however a class of persons who, without needing to be classed as in receipt of poor relief, for special economic reasons are often forced down to an altogether too low level from the social housing point of view and amongst whom this low level is in a great many cases to be considered as undesirable, viz. the large families with small means. Other unavoidable outlays on food and clothing and so on compel such families often to reduce their expenditure on rent to a minimum. The social perils of a too low housing standard are however particularly strongly accentuated when the future of the growing generation has to be considered.

From considerations of general and farsighted population policy this special social housing problem has been studied by a special committee and has led to positive measures on the part of the State.

The basic aims have been to ensure the necessary supply of dwellings suitable for large families and to make it possible for neces-

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situous large families, without restricting other essential outlays and without turning to the poor relief authorities, to have the benefit of a more spacious and otherwise satisfactory dwelling.

The question was brought to a decision by the 1935 Riksdag. It was then decided — for the first purpose — to establish a fund to be called the loan fund for the provision of dwellings for necessitous large families. For the formation of the fund there was appropriated that year 10 million kronor, in 1936 the fund was augmented by 15 million kronor and the Government proposed to the 1937 Riksdag to supplement the fund by a further 5 million kronor.

What are called housing loans obtained from this fund go to the communes, or through the intermediary of the commune to building contractors who have been ascertained to be and are especially recognized as of public utility, for the erection of buildings with small dwellings, suitable for providing accommodation for large families. The dwellings may not comprise fewer than 2 rooms and kitchen. In particular, attention is to be given to those features which make the dwellings suitable for children, e. g. as regards baths, laundry and easy access to parks and other playgrounds, and in certain cases indoor playrooms.

The loan is issued as a secondary credit covering not more than 40 % of the building value. The interest is calculated at the actual cost to the State.

A condition stipulated for the housing loan is that the commune concerned shall provide the necessary site free of charge, take the responsibility for losses in interest and sinking fund to the State which may arise from neglect to pay rents, and furnish 5 % of the building capital. The commune must through one of its own organs allocate the loans, which implies that the immediate local organization and supervision rests on the communal lending authority.

To enable large families of small means to avail themselves of such housing the State places at their disposal annual allowances, family allowances, of a size varying according to the number of children. For families with 3 children — the smallest number of children considered in this connection — the allowance consists of 30 % of the rent; the percentage of allowance rises to 40 % for 4 children and for five or more to 50 %, this last constituting the maximum. In view of the State allowance representing a certain proportion of the rent, this has to be specially investigated and fixed (called standard rent).

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To provide for the family allowances the Riksdag appropriated 500,000 kronor in 1935 and 650,000 kronor in 1936; the 1937 Riksdag was asked for 1 million kronor. The amount corresponds to the estimated requirements and can be exceeded.

The above assistance to large families aims chiefly at providing accommodation in blocks of flats, arranged on a public utility basis. It has often been observed that large families, not seldom those with the largest number of children, voluntarily or more or less driven by necessity attempt to settle their housing question by acquiring their own homes. From the nature of the case there is the risk on the one hand that the own home is arranged in an unsatisfactory manner and on the other that the bread-winner assumes financial burdens which are too heavy for him. None the less the own home presents numerous advantages for the housing of large families, and if the measures of assistance described above could be extended to cover the provision of such homes, the disadvantages would be eliminated to no small extent. There are however certain difficulties to be encountered, based among other things on the fact that the standard rent on which the annual family allowance is calculated has no full equivalent in the current disbursements for an own home and that the intended benefits for the family — mainly the cheap State secondary loan and the prescribed free assignment of a site by the commune — could easily enough be utilized by the own home owner for a speculative purpose departing from the social purpose of these benefits.

However, an attempt to solve these difficulties has been made by certain provisos concerning discretionary right of verification by the State, and since 1936 the appropriated funds may be used to a certain defined extent — as an experiment for the time being — to encourage the housing of large families by way of own homes (chiefly small cottages).

The measures for large families are for the present restricted to towns and other densely populated areas.

The work at the close of 1936 was still in its initial stages and positive results of any great extent were not to be anticipated until 1937. Rather more than 6 million kronor had preliminarily been granted as provision of dwellings loans. No loan for these small dwellings had yet been granted by the end of 1936.

Associated to a certain extent with the housing measures that may

be said to be inspired by considerations of population policy is the creation (in 1937) of a State Home-furnishing Loan Fund. Out of this fund engaged couples may obtain, without having to give the security usually required for loans, a Government amortization loan of, at the most, 1,000 kronor for purchasing furniture and other household articles for their future home. The granting of these loans is placed in the hands of a special committee for each provincial council and each town that does not take part in a provincial council.

In connection with the introduction in 1933 of loans to building contractors there was established in the same year a special State Office, the State Building Loan Office for dealing with the State business connected with same; since then there have been turned over to the Office all State matters connected with the reconstruction and housing provision loans and also with the family allowance for the benefit of large families.

Co-operative Housing. The big cities, of course, are a product of industrialism, which dates in Sweden from the 'seventies. Housing shortage, overcrowding and increased rents in the towns were a result, and the first co-operative building societies can therefore be traced to those times. During the course of years, the housing societies have gradually increased in number in the larger towns, but up to the time immediately preceding the Great War they were chiefly small, independent undertakings, each comprising one or two houses.

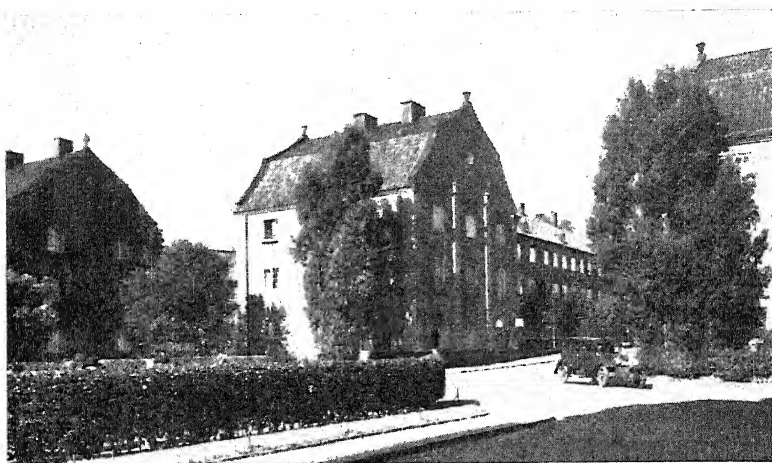
During the war years co-operative building developed rapidly, especially in Stockholm, and a large number of housing societies were established, but the activity of many of these societies was in reality directed towards the sale of dwellings for the benefit of the property owners, and thus evading the rent restrictions then obtaining. As a rule they did not build houses themselves.

Even if these societies suffered from obvious defects from a social point of view, yet they achieved a considerable result, inasmuch as they have obtained for their members that stability in respect of housing the attainment of which is one of the mainsprings of the co-operative building activity. The societies founded during the war years and immediately after have also in most cases become economically profitable for the members, as a consequence of the large increase in rents during the period following the war.

In 1915, however, a co-operative building undertaking of a totally

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different kind, i. e. The Co-operative Housing Society of Stockholm, was established, on the initiative of the Municipality of Stockholm. The public interest, which it was the duty of this Society to guard, was clearly and distinctly defined in its rules and organization, and it is safe to say that the structure and



Co-operative Dwellings, Vasastaden, Stockholm, (the Stockholm Co-operative Housing Society).

methods of working of this society made it the prototype of other similar undertakings in Sweden. Since it was started, this undertaking has built in Stockholm 1,785 dwellings, or 3,936 living rooms, to the value of 23.5 million kronor. The Society has about 2,000 members.

The Tenants' Savings Fund and Housing Society (HSB) is likewise an enterprise with social ideals, started in 1923, which to a certain extent, however, works on different principles. In this society the houses already built are kept distinct on certain conditions from the parent enterprise. In the Co-operative Housing Society of Stockholm, on the other hand, the whole forms one unit. HSB societies, affiliated to a joint national union, exist in some 60 Swedish towns and communities, such as Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, Norrköping, Västerås, Eskilstuna, etc. The society in Stockholm, which is the oldest and largest, had built up to the 1st

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October, 1936, 9,185 dwellings, or 20,150 living rooms, and had at the turn of the year 1935/36 about 11,500 members. This society co-operates closely with the *T e n a n t s' M o v e m e n t*, which by means of organized negotiation with landlords works for better rent conditions and has branches in several Swedish towns.



Co-operative Tenement Houses, Kungsklippan, Stockholm.

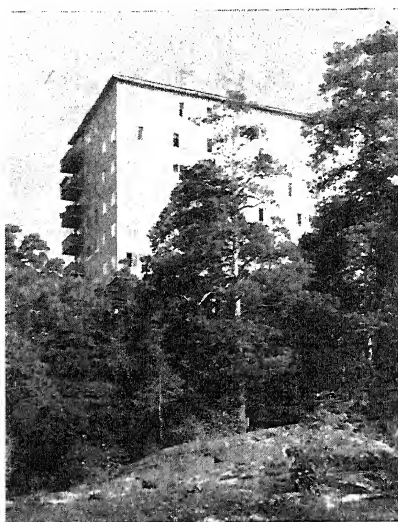
The members of the truly co-operative building enterprises with social aims are mostly people of small means, such as workmen and subordinate employees, etc.; to some extent they may be said to form an economic élite of these groups and they show great regularity in meeting their financial obligations to the societies.

The types of dwellings built are primarily those most usual for the working classes in Sweden, namely one room and a kitchen or two rooms and a kitchenette or kitchen. Bath-rooms or shower-baths, as well as central heating, are always installed in the buildings now erected, and great attention is paid to the fittings in general. The kitchens are provided with gas stoves, hot and cold water, refrigerators, garbage chute, etc. It may be said that, on the whole, these co-operative buildings are models of good workmen's dwellings, the more so as the greatest pains are taken in the arrangement of gardens round the houses, specially equipped carpet-beating rooms, machine-equipped

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laundries, as also playgrounds, playhuts and crèches for the growing generation.

The annual rents of these dwellings are generally 10—30 % lower than those obtaining in the open market, and the average in Stockholm is 600 kronor for one room and kitchenette, 960 kronor for



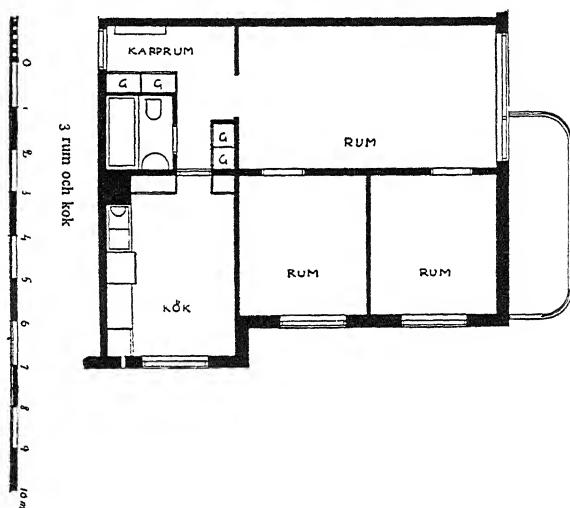
Co-operative Dwelling-house, Kristineberg, Stockholm.

two rooms and kitchenette and 1,500 kronor for three rooms and kitchenette. The rent includes interest on private (10 % of the value of the dwelling) and borrowed money, general expenses for the establishment, amortization, repairs, etc., but not cost of heating. In most other Swedish towns also the rents for co-operative houses are 25—30 % lower than in the open market.

To assist in the handling of the current administration and management of their properties, a number of housing societies formed in 1921 the *Stockholm Housing Societies' Central Association*. The initiative was due to the great need felt for collaboration among the many societies which had arisen during the years of the world war. In the first years the progress was slow but after the Tenants' Savings Fund and Housing Society's branch societies and the Stockholm Co-operative Housing Society joined, development became more rapid.

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At the beginning of 1936 membership had been acquired by 150 property-owning housing societies of older types, in addition to the two just mentioned, and by most of the societies of villa owners and cottage owners in Stockholm and district as well as a number of foundations, etc., or in all 217 members owning property assessed at



Design for a co-operative Dwelling in Stockholm.

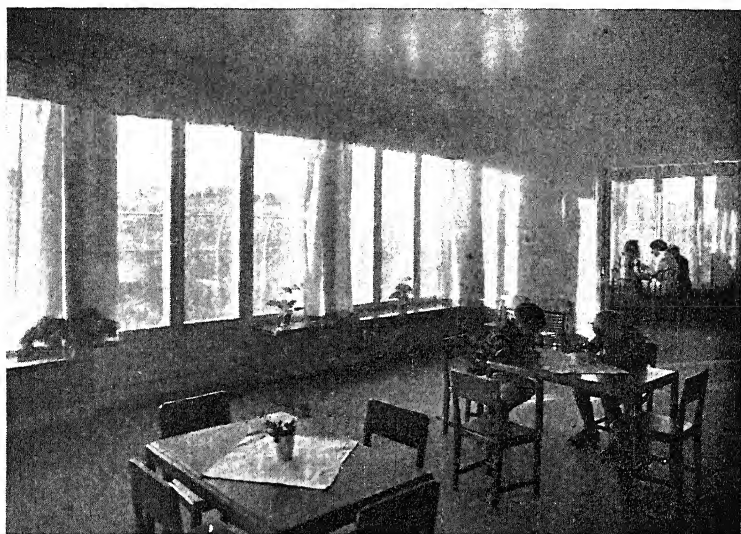
211 million kronor. Means have thus been gained for a many-sided activity of which the main aspects are the following.

The Central Association has been able from the beginning to serve its members, usually free of charge or very cheaply, in questions bringing them into contact with public authorities. In this way the interests of housing societies have been watched in a number of legislative questions of importance for them; a lawyer has been engaged to give free advice concerning laws and regulations; a special bureau for income tax returns has been arranged; efforts have been made, not without success, to get reductions in municipal rates. etc. In addition, information has been supplied regarding the investment in loans, while expert assistance is given in revising societies' rules, bookkeeping and auditing.

In technical matters the society has given advice and instructions when central heating is installed or is being repaired and has con-

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tributed considerably to the cheapening of the upkeep of passenger lifts, etc. During recent years it has acquired its own repair department which itself carries out most kinds of repair work or acts as intermediary on behalf of societies and their members. In 1935 about 10,000 days of work were performed.



Nursery in a co-operative Dwelling in Stockholm.

Fuel for central heating is supplied in annually increasing quantities, e. g. 700,000 sacks of coke from the city gasworks during 1935. Agencies are run for the co-operative insurance societies.

Membership has not been sought outside the capital and its neighbourhood, but a number of connections have been made with housing societies in other districts. In Stockholm there still remain some societies which are not members, but very few of the more up-to-date.

Financially the movement has managed well without support from outside in any form.

Private Employers' Measures. Owing to its being located far from populated areas, a considerable part of Swedish industry has been compelled to provide dwellings for its employees. A keen interest in the proper housing of those employed has therefore survived in

our present-day factories as a natural and obvious part of an employer's functions. Indeed, large sums are still being expended on the care and welfare of the staffs employed in Swedish industries. Undoubtedly these outlays are often a burden on a company's budget, seeing that the profit that can be earned out of dwellings is small and sometimes nil, but much is nevertheless gained in the form of better work produced by a staff for whom comfortable homes are provided. The tradition originally established in the isolated industries situated far out in the country has been kept up even when communities have grown up around them or have been transferred to more populous districts. For even there the conditions have required creative and controlling initiative on the part of the employer in order to maintain and increase the supply of satisfactory dwellings. In quieter times the primary aim has been to maintain the existing standard of housing and, to a certain extent, to modernize dwellings, whereas new construction called for by the advent of new forms of residential planning, types of houses and flats, has been carried out at times when industry is undergoing rapid expansion or new works are established necessitating an increase of staff.

The employers have either built staff dwellings, usually rented by the occupants, or in various ways taken part in the organization and financing of housing societies or construction of own homes, which last are owned by the occupiers. The building activity of these societies or private persons has otherwise been financed by the workers' or employees' contributions and by State loans. Especially own home construction has moreover been encouraged by industries through bonuses or loans free of interest and redemption charges. The upkeep of the home has occasionally been rewarded by bonuses for the best arranged and kept home, also in respect of the tending of the site and the garden.

These far-reaching financial measures display a keen desire to improve the quality of housing. Many model villages of industrial undertakings bear witness to this. As examples of such establishments on a larger scale may be mentioned: Stora Kopparbergs Bergslag (Domnarvet), Höganäs-Billesholms A.-B. (Höganäs), Jonsereds Fabriker A.-B. (Jonsered), Trafikaktiebolaget Grängesberg—Oxelösund (Grängesberg), Sandvikens Jernverks Aktiebolag (Sandviken), Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara A.-B. (Kiruna), Holmens Bruks & Fabriks A.-B. (Norrköping and Hallstavik), Mo and Domsjö A.-B. (Alfredshem,

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Husum, etc.). Bolidens Gruv A.-B. (Boliden, Skelleftehamn and Laver) and others.

The types of building range from tenement buildings or houses belonging to housing societies, via rows of houses occupied by several families, and semi-detached houses to the one-family home and garden owned by the occupier. In a housing society's building or a row of houses each owns his own dwelling and all collectively hold the common site. Houses in rows can also be arranged as own homes side by side, each family being in possession and enjoying complete ownership.

The larger of these types of buildings are built under the management of those concerned themselves or by a local contractor, the material being brick, cement-stone or timber, the last being most general. On the initiative of the consulting firm Industrial Dwellings Ltd (A.-B. Industriebostäder), founded in 1918 in collaboration with The Federation of Swedish Industries there was started some years ago a mass production of wooden house types, mostly of small size. The timber is shaped to large or small suitable parts which can be rapidly put together on the site. For own home builders in particular, who can thus complete their house in their free time, this factory production of standardized small houses has proved a benefit. Even where a large number of similar small timber dwellings must be put up quickly, on a site not too distant from the factory, this method of manufacture has shown certain advantages, chiefly in saving of time. The rationalizing and standardizing ideas for which the above company's activities (now given up) have been of a pioneering character, have gained ground extensively and have been adopted for industrial, communal and private house-building.

Efforts have been made to raise the general standard of housing, inter alia, by rational and consequently cheaper building methods. It has been possible to give greater attention to interior fittings so that the kitchen and the dwelling as a whole have been made easier for household work. In many places, even in smaller houses out in the country, water supply and drainage are put in. By this means it is possible to provide water closets and, at least in the larger dwellings, shower and bath as well as wash-house. For the smaller dwellings the employer in many cases arranges for a common bath installation and wash-house. Central heating is often put in even in the smallest dwellings and own homes.

As early as in the town-planning stage care is taken that the build-

ings shall be so placed that the dwellings have, wherever possible, an appropriately sunny aspect. In close proximity to the blocks there are set apart for the children sunny playgrounds protected from any traffic there may be. In fact, efforts are being made everywhere in industrial housing areas to achieve designs providing widely spaced, airy types of buildings set amidst greenery.

The Swedish employers are making common endeavours, each in his own works, not merely to provide the minimum housing requirements for the accommodation of their staff but to create within reasonable financial limits homes of the highest technical standard, affording a measure of comfort and convenience, hygiene and attractiveness calculated to make the staff interested and active collaborators in the work of the factory.

X. Co-operation.

The idea of co-operation for achieving certain economic purposes has long been known in Sweden. The agricultural population, which of course was largely preponderant until far into the 19th century, lived, as a rule, in accordance with Germanic custom, in villages. Neighbours were obliged by law to assist each other in providing for their subsistence, and this arrangement was of such evident benefit that it was employed also in other spheres. The breaking-up of the villages in the greater part of the country at the beginning of the 19th century quite naturally proved a set-back to this old co-operative form of husbandry. The growing towns and industrial communities, with their populations congregated from every quarter, also lacked for a long time the feeling of community that is the natural foundation for economic co-operation for the mutual benefit of all parties.

When the modern co-operative ideas from England were disseminated in Sweden in the middle of the 19th century, they fell upon practically virgin soil, even if here and there the primitive co-operation within the sphere of agriculture, cattle breeding, and forestry had survived.

As long ago as in the late 'fifties the first modern societies for co-operative work appeared in Sweden. These were partly meant to supply their members with what they required for their own house-

holds, and partly they were confined to agriculture, and had as their aim to supply the farmers with necessities for carrying on their work or for arranging for the sale of their products. Sometimes these aims were united in one and the same society.

During the ensuing decades both the consumers' and producers' co-operative societies were on certain occasions very active, and in many quarters fairly good results were obtained, but it was not until the years round about the beginning of the present century that — with the establishment of central organizations for some of the more important groups of societies — development proceeded more rapidly.

1. Consumers' Co-operation.

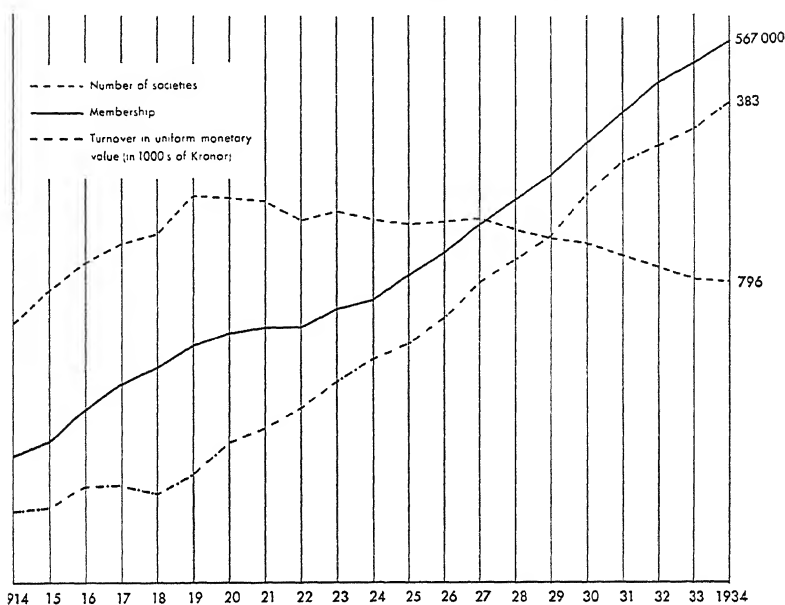
The earliest to develop under this category were distributive and housing societies. Distributive societies in the modern sense, though very modest in extent, first arose in Sweden during the decade following 1850; the oldest now operating date from the 1860's. The earliest beginnings were confined to rural districts, mainly industrial localities of the ironworks type. After varying fortunes in its earlier days, the consumers' societies movement took on the form or organization still prevailing in principle in the year 1899, when a number of the then small, and hitherto isolated, local societies formed the *Co-operative Union*, which had for its aim to act as a connecting link between them and look after the work of organization, information and propaganda. By 1904 the Union felt itself strong enough to include in its programme also wholesale dealing, and the organization with a central office for propaganda work has since then become a permanent institution. Ever since that time the movement has continued to make great progress. An important factor in this success has been the fact that the societies, which adhere strictly to the Rochdale principles, have been open — not only in form but also in reality — to different classes of society.

As regards the local co-operative societies' outward development, we would refer to the diagram on page 309. The number of societies, which in the period 1908—1919 about doubled (from about 500 to about 1,000), then fell again (being barely 800 at the close of 1934), which chiefly shows the result of a policy of merging the smaller societies into larger units. How strong this tendency towards concentration has been will be clearly seen from the curve illustrat-

Consumers' Co-operation

ing the membership. From 131,000 in the year 1914 the numbers increased by the end of 1934 to 567,000 or $4\frac{1}{2}$ times, with some 100,000 joining in the last 4-year period. During the whole period 1914—1934 the average membership per society increased from about

The Development of the Consumers' Societies.



200 to something over 700. The reason why even the latter of these figures is low, in comparison with the conditions in certain other countries, is that a very large number of the Swedish societies, about two-thirds, are in the rural districts, and only about 260 in towns and townships. Among the urban societies there are some which have attained considerable membership, of which one undertaking at least, the Stockholm Co-operative Society, had reached the membership, large even according to international standards, of over 75,000 at the close of 1935.

The diagram, finally, shows the extent of the sales, converted into a uniform monetary value, and it will be seen that the figures for the turnover have increased nearly sevenfold during the period 1914—

Co-operation

1934. Expressed in money, the turnover rose from about 56 million kronor in 1914 to 383 million kronor in 1934. With reference to what has been said concerning the great number of small undertakings still to be found among Swedish distributive societies, it may also be mentioned that of the above-mentioned sales figures about 197 million kronor or 51 % came from the 66 societies whose yearly turnover was at least 1 million kronor.

The Co-operative Union was rather small in the beginning, but membership has since increased very rapidly. At present 92 % of all the distributive societies are affiliated to the Co-operative Union and their membership amounts to more than 97 % of that of all the societies. The turnover of the Co-operative Union, which in 1908 amounted to about 4 million kronor, exceeded the 100-million mark in 1926 for the first time, and was up to 180 million kronor in 1935. Apart from the co-operative societies, there are affiliated to the Co-operative Union two insurance companies, one for life insurance and one for fire insurance and various other branches of insurance. Both have developed very considerably.

The social structure of the co-operative movement in Sweden has undergone sundry changes. In its earliest days, in the same way as in other countries, the societies had to a certain extent a philanthropic character, with groups amongst the more well-to-do members of the population taking the initiative and acting as leaders. Gradually, however, the workers became the dominant factor in the majority of the societies, so that at the time of the establishment of the Co-operative Union the members were almost exclusively to be counted amongst that class of the community. Subsequently, however, development has been progressing in an opposite direction, as is shown by the following table.

Percentage distribution of the members of the distributive co-operative societies according to occupation (1934).

Farmers	14.5	Other independent traders and	
Farm labourers	4.2	industrialists	4.2
Master-craftsmen	2.3	Members of the liberal professions	2.5
Craftsmen	5.8	No stated occupation and others	10.6
Industrial workers	28.2	Corporations	0.9
Other workers	15.0		
Higher-grade salaried employees .	2.5		100.0
Subordinate salaried employees .	9.3		

The fact that the different groups of workers taken together are still in a majority in the movement as a whole is seen clearly from this table, but also other classes of the community are numerously represented. In reality it is a fact that in the separate societies different occupational groups predominate. Thus there are a large number of societies in which farmers have taken the initiative and are still the most numerous element, just as, in the same way, in other places salaried employees in State, communal or private service, as well as members of the liberal professions, form the bulk of the members. It has, however, so far been possible to keep political differences of opinion out of the co-operative societies, and this has meant that there are very few co-operative societies in Sweden which have been joined by only one single group within the community; the various classes of the community have in this respect as a rule worked together effectively and with mutual understanding. By way of example we may mention that in the Stockholm Co-operative Society the different groups of trades or professions are represented in proportions which correspond fairly exactly to their relative importance in the total population of the capital.

The social composition of the total body of members, with its large proportion of persons without any very great theoretical grounding, has made the regular co-operative feature of educational work very important. Most urgent, maybe, has been the need of giving the business staff the necessary training, but hardly less important has been the necessity for providing for the many members placed in positions of trust or otherwise actively interested in the undertaking both financial and business training in general and special instruction in the conditions and problems of the co-operative movement. A considerable amount of important and successful work has been done in this sphere both by the many local societies and specially through the Co-operative Union. At its Training Institution close to Stockholm (Saltsjöbaden) there are arranged every year a large number of courses of varying length, and in addition, a great deal of teaching by correspondence is conducted from there. Naturally the printed and spoken word is furthermore employed to a large extent. It can hardly be doubted that the insight into economic factors which this educational work has spread within wide classes of the population has been of immense value for a country like Sweden with its democratic social structure.

Co-operation

A special branch of the educational work may also be considered to lie in the work which has been devoted to the improvement of shop-culture and the bringing about of improved hygienic conditions in the distribution of foodstuffs. The Co-operative Union has established a separate architectural department and has provided its affiliated



A co-operative Shop (The Stockholm Co-operative Society).

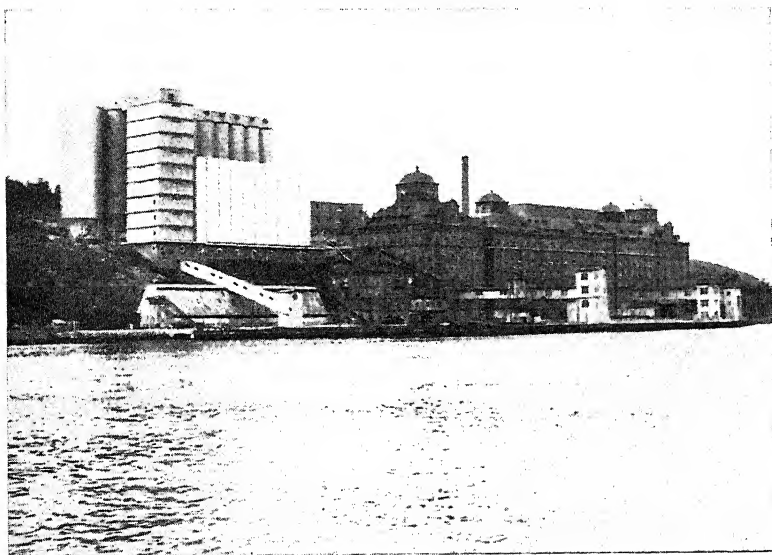
societies with plans and suggestions for new business premises; every effort being made to take advantage of all modern technical devices, which, though frequently involving a substantial initial outlay, fully justify the expense in view of the greater working efficiency they give. In this connection it may be mentioned that the consumers' co-operative movement in Sweden is not in receipt of any State grant.

A first result of the better economic insight acquired by the management of the co-operative societies and interested members is the economic consolidation which the societies have undergone of late years. The general rule is now that every member must invest at least 100 kronor. The amount may certainly be paid in gradually by means of the transfer to the investment account of the bonus allowed to the members on purchases, and this method is generally resorted to, but the total of capital thus subscribed amounted at the end of 1935

Consumers' Co-operation

to over 45 million kronor. On the other hand, the co-operative members incur no liability for the engagements of their society beyond their investments.

The societies have also amassed a considerable capital by way of reserves, which at the aforesaid period amounted to about 60 million



The Co-operative Union's Mill "Tre Kronor" (The Three Crowns), Stockholm.

kronor. The total capital, about 105 million kronor, corresponds to about 25 % of the turnover, and is rapidly increasing, both absolutely and relatively. In the year 1908 the capital hardly exceeded 2 million kronor, and by the year 1921 had not increased to more than 28 million kronor.

The result of this creation of capital has been that at present a large number of societies are able to do without the credit from outside which is customary in other retail enterprises. The aim set up is that all societies should pay for all purchases delivered not later than 10 days after the receipt of the goods, and this rule is applied by the Co-operative Union in all its sales. The only external debt existing in many societies is a loan against mortgage on the premises and

Co-operation

real estate. In some of the larger societies the establishment of their own savings banks for members has contributed towards this independence. The whole capital sum created in this way within the local co-operative societies was nevertheless not greater than about 15 million kronor altogether at the end of 1935. The great efforts that have been devoted to abolishing members' credit accounts are a link in the work. The progressive rationalization of the movement has enabled the costs of distribution of the retail sales of the societies to be kept on an average at as low a level as 10 % of the sales turnover.

Regarding the financing of the Co-operative Union, it may be mentioned that the contributed capital and own funds of the Union and its affiliations at the end of 1935 exceeded 60 million kronor, and that the Union had on deposit in bank accounts a total of about 75 million kronor deposited by affiliated societies and their members. By this means the Union is practically independent of outside credit.

As long as Swedish co-operation felt the lack of sufficient capital, it confined itself practically exclusively to the work of distribution, and this was in its turn mainly confined to foodstuffs. It was not until the post-war years that a change was brought about, in that production was taken up in different forms. Many of the larger societies own such enterprises, especially in the baking and provisions trades, and the Co-operative Union is now carrying on the manufacture not only of foodstuffs (margarine factory, flourmills, oatmeal factory, bakery, coffee roasting, etc.) but also in other branches, such as shoes, galoshes and rubber tires, as well as, in conjunction with the central organizations of the other Northern countries, an electric bulb factory. The productive work of the Union has been chiefly directed towards breaking down those monopolies which exist in respect of certain necessities and are a burden upon the public. The great success attending these enterprises makes it evident that they have supplied a generally felt want. Further schemes are under consideration for extending production on the same lines as hitherto.

There has been hardly anything more than attempts at consumers' co-operation outside the distributive co-operative movement in Sweden of late years. The fact that, during the last few years, the housing societies' movement has been given a considerable impetus is mentioned in another connection (p. 299) and is therefore left out of account here. Moreover, it may be worth mentioning here the

electricity distributing societies, which to a number of about 1,800 effect the distribution of electrical energy for power and lighting purposes over a great part of the country. These societies have come into being almost entirely during the past 20 years.

2. Producers' Co-operation.

This branch of co-operation is mainly restricted to the economic co-operation amongst farmers.

Amongst the multifarious enterprises under this heading, differentiation may be made between such as have for their aim the supplying to farmers of those necessities that are essential for carrying on their work, and such as handle the sale of agricultural produce. In addition there are societies for providing credit to farmers.

In the former of the groups should be noted first the local purchasing societies, which, numbering about 700 distributed all over the country, devote themselves to joint purchases mainly of fodder, fertilizers and seed, together with certain special articles such as fodder-preserving liquid, cattle feeds, mineral feed, disinfectants, harvest implements and so on. To a certain extent they also assist their members in the sale of their grain, potatoes, hay and straw and in some cases firewood. The purchasing societies are organized into central unions, as a rule by provinces, and these in their turn have combined to form a national organization, the Swedish National Farmers' Union. The wholesale selling carried on by the National Union has during the last few years amounted to 50—55 million kronor.

In recent years farmers with a certain aid from the State authorities have created several organizations embracing the whole Kingdom, which handle the sale of various agricultural products.

Thus there was formed in 1932 the Swedish National Dairies Association for the purpose of selling the members' milk and dairy produce, organizing collaboration between them, adjusting their prices, etc. By decision of the 1936 Riksdag the Association has also taken charge of the greater part of the consultative activity in the sphere of dairy farming. For this purpose the Association from 1st January, 1937 has had in its employ 14 dairy consultants, for whose salaries it receives a State grant. The National Association comprises 29 dairy

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societies and mergers constituting a total of 1,035 dairies and sub-dairies or roughly 75 % of all dairies in the country. The quantity of milk weighed at dairies affiliated to the National Association amounted in 1936 to 2¼ million tons or nearly 90 % of the combined milk production of dairies throughout the country.



Employees' Dwellings at the "Tre Kronor" Mill, Stockholm.

For the sale of farmers' livestock for slaughter there have been formed slaughter-house and livestock selling societies which purchase beasts from their members and direct their supplies to the home and the export market. These societies in various places, e. g. in Scania, have organized local collaboration and in their outside dealings appear as one association. These in their turn are affiliated to a national association, the Slaughter-house Association of Sweden, which has about 150,000 members. This Association's main object is to receive meat and pork from areas with a surplus and arrange for its sale to areas with a shortage and in this way ensure to the farmers better prices for their produce. In this manner there has in recent years been sold through the Association about 25 % of all meat and pork slaughtered at organized slaughter-houses.

To ensure better prices for eggs and poultry produce there was formed in 1933 the Swedish Egg Trade Association. Twenty egg centres or egg export societies, embracing about 600 local egg societies or egg circles and about 30,000 poultry keepers, are affiliated to the Association.

With the establishment of the Egg Trade Association there was begun a more general co-operation for the marketing of eggs. The Egg Trade Association works in this way: after the egg centres have filled the requirements of their own areas they hand over any surplus to the Association, which undertakes its sale to Stockholm, Norrland and Gothenburg or to the export market. The Association has been able to contribute appreciably to the regulation of the supply on the most important market, Stockholm, by a considerably increased export. During 1936 the Association handled almost 50 % of the country's total egg exports and its turnover in that year amounted to 6 million kg of eggs.

The Egg Trade Association has also devoted a considerable amount of attention to improvement of quality and to propaganda to increase the consumption of eggs.

The activity of credit societies for the supply of working capital to agriculture has also developed considerably in recent years. There are thus about 790 agricultural credit funds throughout the country. These are amalgamated with central funds numbering 10, which in their turn are merged with the Swedish Agricultural Credit Fund. The lending operations of these credit societies comprises over 70 million kronor.

XI. Education.

1. Elementary School System.

The Reformation in Sweden in the 16th century laid the foundation of the country's public education. It was principally through the efforts of the Church that the art of reading was spread among the population in ever-widening circles. The establishment of schools for the children of the masses did not, however, make much headway until the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. It

was mainly carried out by private benefactors and by the voluntary action of communes. When the Government presented to the Riksdag of 1840—1841 a Bill for compulsory public elementary education, there existed about 1,400 elementary and infant schools in the country, in which instruction was being imparted to 68,000 children, or 13 % of the children who might be deemed to have been of school age at the time.

On the basis of the decision of the said Riksdag, the first Public Elementary Education Act for the realm was promulgated in 1842, in which it was laid down that in every parish (commune) there must be at least one school with a duly qualified teacher. According to the law now in force, schools must be established in proportion to requirements. The most recent Public Elementary Education Act, embodying the amendments called for by the progress of popular education, was promulgated in 1921.

Organization, etc. Public education for children is provided in the elementary school, with a six-years' course as a rule. The two lowest classes are called the *infant school*, classes 3—6 constituting the *elementary school proper*. In several communes (school districts) this school also comprises a compulsory seventh class, hitherto established at the option of the local educational authorities. In 1936, however, the Riksdag decided that, after the expiry of a transitional period of 12 years, instruction in all elementary schools is to cover a 7-year course of study. The compulsory elementary school may be extended by a non-compulsory *higher grade*, comprising one or more classes. When in a school district there exists an area which is remotely situated or comprises but few children, a *minor elementary school* may be established (with a shorter course of instruction and a teacher possessing lower qualifications than in the regular elementary schools).

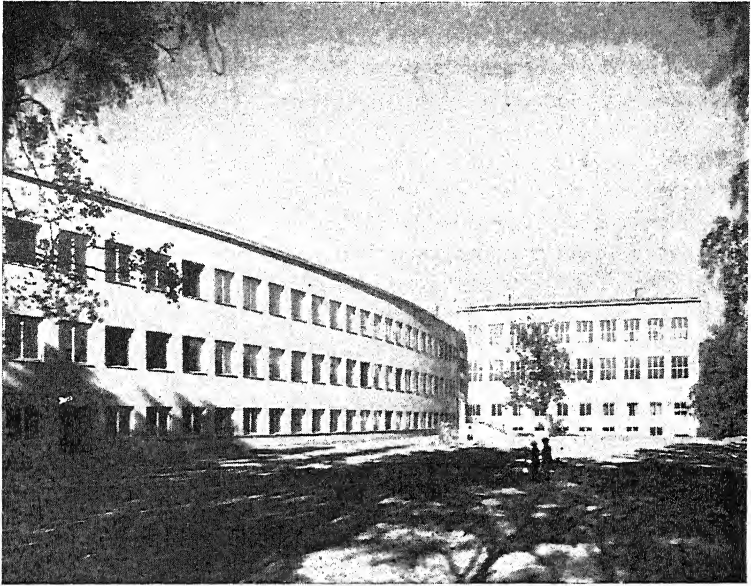
The school age for children is from 7 to 14. A specified course of instruction (curriculum) must be followed. Children of low intelligence may in certain instances be passed out with an abridged course of instruction. Children who before reaching the leaving age have attained the required standard may be exempted from school attendance, though not before the commencement of the calendar year in which the age of 13 is attained. A special leaving examination is held.

The annual period of instruction is 8 months or 242 days. In many school districts this period is extended to 9 months or even more. By

Elementary School System

the decision of the 1936 Riksdag the period of study shall in the case of certain types of schools, and in conjunction with the introduction of the seventh year, consist of 9 months each alternate year. The school year consists of an autumn term and a spring term.

The organization of the elementary school, as well as its internal



Elementary School in Stockholm.

work (the type of school, time-tables, curricula, etc.), is governed by *an educational scheme for the nation's public elementary schools* drawn up by the State authorities. For the schools of each district there must be a duly authorized set of regulations. As regards the organization of the schools, a distinction is made between normal and special types. In the former the children are given full-time instruction, i. e. daily instruction during the whole of the prescribed period of schooling, in the latter only half-time instruction (generally only on alternate days). Half-time instruction is only authorized when justified by sparsity of population or great distances.

In 1934 the number of elementary school pupils was 642,436, of whom 596,367 or 92.8 % received whole-time instruction, and

46,069 or 7.2 % half-time instruction. As a result of improved communications and the provision of transport for schoolchildren, etc., the number of half-time schools diminishes each year.

The teaching staff in 1934 numbered 28,148, of whom 15,442 held elementary school posts (8,249 permanent posts for men, 5,964 permanent posts for women, and 1,229 supernumerary posts), 587 assistant teachers' posts at elementary schools (with lower qualifications), 1,884 posts at minor schools (with lower qualifications) and 10,235 posts at infant schools.

Training of Teachers. The qualifications for teaching appointments are obtained by passing the examination of an *elementary school-teachers' training college*. A decision of the 1936 Riksdag provides for the re-organization of the training colleges in the next few years. The period of training will be either four years or two years. To be admitted to the four-year course, knowledge approximately equivalent to that obtained from the junior secondary school courses (*realskola*) is required. The two-year course is intended for those who have matriculated. In addition to these two courses of training there will be arranged at one of the training colleges a two-year course for infant school women teachers who wish to qualify as elementary school teachers.

At present there are 11 elementary school-teachers' training colleges, one of which is to be closed. Both a four-year and a two-year course will be included in 5 of the 10 remaining colleges, while 4 will have only the four-year course and 1 college will have a four-year course and the special two-year course for infant school teachers. All the training colleges are State institutions.

The training was at first (from 1842) uniform for all these teachers, but when the infant schools became a separate institution (1860—70) the need of special teachers for them arose. The teachers for infant schools and minor schools, and also assistant teachers for elementary schools, are trained at *infant school-teachers' training colleges*, all of which are under State control. These colleges are also to be re-organized. The training courses will, as previously, be 3-year courses at the colleges in Haparanda and Lycksele and 2-year courses at the other colleges, but the standard of qualifications for admission is to be raised. The number of these colleges is to be reduced to 7 (for the school-year 1935/1936: 8).

Elementary School Authorities. The number of school districts is 2,464. By the Communes Acts of 1930, education in communes where a communal or municipal council exists is usually in the hands of the local authorities. The *elementary school board* is appointed by the council in question. In smaller communes where a council is not elected the school board, retaining the old name of *educational council*, is appointed by the local vestry. The local educational councils and elementary school boards nominate their own chairman. In these bodies the teachers' point of view is represented by a member delegated by the teachers. The authority of next instance is the ecclesiastical board of the diocese, the *chapter*, the composition of which, according to a decision of the 1936 Riksdag, is to be changed. The new arrangement provides for a special school expert among the chapter members, who is appointed by the Government and who will deal with all elementary school matters. The chapter decides on the school regulations for the district. In financial matters, such as teachers' salaries, buildings, State grant, the provincial governor is the provincial authority side by side with the chapter. The immediate State direction and supervision of elementary education is exercised by the *elementary school inspectors* appointed by the Government. These inspectors were introduced in the 1860's but the main regulations now governing the inspection of schools were issued in 1914. Since 1919 the country has been divided into 52 inspection areas, with an inspector for each, in addition to which there is the *nomad school inspector*, who supervises the education of the Lapps in the Norrland nomad schools. The central direction of elementary education is exercised by the *Central Board of Education* through its *elementary school department*, consisting of 6 members, one of whom is the head of the department. Since the 1860's the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs has had a special bureau for elementary school matters.

Financial Position. Elementary education is regarded as a communal affair and the school district is responsible for expenditure, while receiving grants from the State. In conformity with a decision of the 1935 Riksdag these grants have been made so large that the main costs of elementary education will be borne in future by the State. Thus the cash remuneration of the teachers — unless communes decide on special supplements over and above the minimum

salaries fixed by the Riksdag — will be entirely provided by the State. As regards remuneration in kind, the State will make housing grants, and in regard to school premises the school district will receive both building grant and maintenance grant. Teachers' fees for the non-compulsory subjects, sloyd and housekeeping, will be paid entirely out of State funds. For the financial year 1936/1937 the estimate for salaries and fees (exclusive of cost-of-living bonus) was, in round figures, 65 million kronor. In addition there are special grants for boarding schoolchildren, for their transport and for elementary education in Norrland.

Continuation Schools. Ever since the year 1877, the State has granted financial support to continuation studies arranged voluntarily by the school districts. The 1918 Riksdag decided that continuation schools should be compulsory and that the salaries of teachers engaged in them should be paid out of State funds.

Pupils who have passed out of the elementary schools with leaving certificates, and have not entered any other school, are obliged to take a course at a continuation school. This obligation to attend a continuation school ceases after the course has been completed, or at the latest at the age of 18.

There are two types of continuation schools: the *general continuation school*, where the instruction is of a general practical nature, and the *vocational continuation school*, where the instruction has for its special aim some particular trade, or group of trades, having a bearing upon the local industries. The course is fixed at a minimum of 360 hours, and is divided up into two one-year courses. In school districts with a 7-year elementary school course the continuation school may be restricted to a one-year course of at least 180 hours. Of the three main subjects in the continuation school — technical work, civics, and Swedish — the last two must be taught in all continuation schools. In the general continuation school, technical work is replaced by natural science. Handicrafts or sloyd may also be included in the continuation school course. To obtain an appointment as a continuation school teacher of technical subjects it is necessary, that the candidate shall have been passed as competent by the Central Board of Education, and, with regard to other subjects, that the State elementary school inspector shall have certified the candidate's ability.

Elementary School System

During the school year 1933—34 the number of continuation schools totalled 10,720, of which 5,501 were general and 5,219 vocational, whilst the combined number of pupils totalled 150,480. In addition 8,161 pupils received instruction in what may be called substitute schools, either along with pupils of elementary schools or continuation schools or in special refresher schools.



An Elementary School Library.

The expenditure out of State funds for teachers at continuation schools was estimated at 4,300,000 kr. for the financial year 1936/1937.

Higher Elementary Schools. The establishment of these schools was first provided for by the Riksdag of 1858. Like the continuation school, the higher elementary school forms a superstructure on the basis of the elementary school proper, and is set up by the commune. Its object is to impart to the young people who have passed out of the elementary school a higher standard of general education and practical training, although at the same time not withdrawing the pupils from their ordinary home life or the necessary practice of a trade. By the school reform of 1918, the higher elementary school may be organized either as general or vocational. Its courses may

last for one, two, three, or four years. Higher elementary schools are established in both urban and rural districts. Their number in the 1935/1936 school year was 67, of which 33 were of a general and 34 of a vocational type. The pupils for the 1935 spring term numbered about 7,440. In recent years a number of 4-class higher elementary schools have been converted into communal intermediate schools. As an experiment five of the vocational higher elementary schools have been reorganized as *practical intermediate schools*, the course terminating with the *practical junior secondary examination* (cf. below).

The State grant for higher elementary schools was estimated at 1,330,000 kronor for the financial year 1936/1937.

2. Secondary Education.

Secondary education in Sweden is provided partly by State and partly by communal and private establishments, the two last-named generally subsidized by the State.

The State secondary schools comprise State secondary schools, including both junior (*realskola*) and senior secondary schools (*gymnasium*), and independent junior secondary schools, and since the school reforms of 1927 they have connected up with either the sixth or the fourth class of the elementary school. As a rule, in each secondary school district the connection is of the former kind, while in a number of localities there is also a "line" of studies based on the fourth elementary school class. In the former case the junior secondary school course is four years and in the latter case five years; both lines are to be regarded, according to an interpretation given by the Riksdag of 1928, as being of absolutely equal value. In the autumn term of 1936 there were in the secondary schools in the country 166 sections of the first class of the four-year junior secondary school, with a total of 4,527 pupils, and 157 sections of the first class of the five-year junior secondary school, with a total of 5,112 pupils. In addition, a new type of secondary school has been established, called the *lyceum*, based on the sixth class of the elementary school and consisting of six classes. So far, however, this type has not found much favour, and at present there are only two secondary schools that have adopted a "lyceum side". Like the senior secondary school course, the lyceum course terminates with a matriculation examination, whereas

the junior secondary school course concludes with an examination for the lower school certificate. The former examination is controlled by persons who are usually appointed from among University professors or, to a lesser extent, from among the older secondary school teachers.

In the junior secondary school are taught, besides the other school subjects, three modern languages: German, English and French, the first two being compulsory for all pupils and the third for those intending to proceed to a senior secondary school.

In conformity with the intentions of the 1927 school reform, practical subjects are to be more strongly represented in the curriculum than formerly, but on account of financial difficulties these intentions have not been realized to any great extent. On the other hand, by a decision of the State authorities, experiments have been made since 1930 in a few junior schools, 6 at present, with a view to establishing special practical courses on commercial subjects, technical subjects and domestic subjects. These courses follow on the lowest two (three) classes of the four- (five-) year secondary school, and thus comprise only the two highest classes. They lead up to practical examinations largely equivalent to the general junior secondary examination.

The senior secondary schools are, as formerly, divided into two sides, the *Latin* and the *Modern* secondary schools. In a few private secondary schools there is in addition a modern language side. In the two highest "rings" or forms of the senior schools there is a certain amount of differentiation in the subjects according to the desires of the pupils. The compulsory subjects here are limited to five, these being, on both sides, scripture, the Swedish language, and history including sociology, combined on the Latin side with Latin and French and on the Modern side with English and mathematics. Further, the pupil has generally the choice of three subjects, to be selected from a number of fixed combinations of subjects. In addition, in certain circumstances one further subject ("supplementary subject") may be taken. The regulations concerning the above choice of subjects are laid down in the new *secondary school statutes of 17th March, 1933*. In accordance with these statutes and the time schedules annexed thereto, the general trend of the studies has been substantially modified. Swedish and history, including social science, having been given an increased number of hours, while mathematics and scientific subjects have been cut down in both the Latin and the Modern sides. A further important point is that in regard to foreign languages French has been given considerably more

prominence, being made obligatory in the Latin-side schools and being included in most of the optional groups in the Modern-side schools.

In regard to mathematics, however, a certain change has already been brought about by an amendment to the 1933 statutes, which creates a new group of subjects at the Modern-side senior secondary school, including a special course in mathematics, designed for pupils whose future training will require a more comprehensive knowledge of that subject.

Another innovation, aiming at strengthening the classical element in the upper school, is the introduction as from the 1935/1936 school year of a "*classical side*", in which Latin is studied for 6 years instead of 4 and Greek for 4 years instead of 2. This arrangement, however, has been introduced as an experiment and is in operation at two schools only.

On the basis of the new schedule of hours and courses the Central Board of Education has prepared methodical instructions, comprising a general section dealing with the educative and training objects of schooling as a whole and also special principles for the methodical treatment of the various subjects.

In regard to the methods of instruction and the work in the secondary schools in general, a modification of the new statutes and teaching schedules has been recommended with the object of making the school work afford greater encouragement to the development of an independent spirit, initiative and a sense of responsibility among the pupils. In this connection may be mentioned the "individual" work introduced into the senior secondary schools and the two highest classes of the communal schools for girls. In these each pupil is obliged to pursue extended and thorough studies in a range of subjects, which he or she is free to select in consultation with the teacher.

Greater scope for the physical training of the pupils has been afforded by the school ordinance of 1927, a certain number of days being set aside for athletics and open air activities, known as open-air days.

The number of secondary schools has considerably increased since the educational reform of 1927, the State having gradually taken over 54 communal intermediate schools. In addition, six entirely new secondary schools have been established, five of which are designed for girls only. Altogether there are at present 137 secondary schools,

Secondary Education

of which 83 are junior schools (a few of them having communal senior schools superimposed combined with the right to matriculate) and 54 are senior secondary schools. The number of pupils at these secondary schools amounted for the autumn term of 1936 to 48,435.

Prior to the educational reform of 1927 the secondary schools were only to a small extent open to girls. Only in 18 smaller localities were the junior secondary schools open to girls, and in addition girls were able within restricted limits to gain admission to the State senior school in a certain number of towns. Since 1927 the great majority of State secondary schools have been open to girls to the same extent as to boys, and in the larger towns, as stated above, special secondary schools for girls have been established. The total number of girl pupils at State secondary schools in the autumn term of 1936 was about 15,700.

The Communal Intermediate School appeared as long ago as 1909 as an expression of the desire on the part of reformers to build up a higher school for pupils leaving the six-year elementary school. The reform soon became widespread, and such schools were established especially in the smaller localities, but since the State took over a number of them under the reforms of 1927 their number has gone down considerably. Nevertheless new schools continue to be established, particularly through the conversion of higher elementary schools. Even in the large towns there are communal intermediate schools with large numbers of pupils. The number of communal intermediate schools is at present 52 and the total number of pupils 8,304. The existence of communal intermediate schools in the towns in question has led to the State secondary schools there being for the most part organized on the five-year basis. The communal intermediate schools are in the main organized on the same lines as the four-year junior secondary schools, for the constitution of which they formed a model. The intermediate schools are open to both boys and girls.

The higher education of girls was formerly left chiefly to private educational institutions. The private high schools for girls contained eight classes, based on a three-year preparatory school. The leaving certificate (without any supervised examination) carried about the same weight as the junior secondary school examination. There will certainly continue to be a number of private high schools for girls.

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Now, however, they are based on the fourth class of the elementary school and have thus become seven-year instead of eight-year schools. The preparatory classes have in most cases been discarded.

The number of pupils in these schools amounted in the autumn term of 1936 to over 12,000.

Side by side with the private schools for girls, and with the same educational object, there have been established *communal schools for girls*, the organization of which was laid down by the 1928 Riksdag. This form of school is on a seven-year basis and is linked to the fourth class of the elementary school, though pupils may always gain admission to the second-year classes from the sixth class of the elementary school. For the final two years the school may be divided into a theoretical and a practical side. The maintenance of special schools for girls is dictated by the desire to furnish the girls with an education specially suited to their different nature and their future careers. The number of communal schools for girls in the autumn term of 1936 was 25 with a total of 5,800 pupils, and their numbers are increasing each year.

The central management for higher education is in the hands of the Central Board of Education through the secondary school department.

In the State secondary schools a fee of between 45 and 65 kr. is charged per term. The possibility of exemption from payment, either wholly or in part, exists and considerable advantage is taken of this privilege. The fees in the private schools are naturally higher, 75 to 200 kr. per term. Certain of the communal intermediate schools are free, while in others fees of varying amounts are charged. Finally, in this connection mention may be made of the great possibilities for furnishing assistance to necessitous pupils for purposes of study, which are afforded by the numerous donations, often of large sums, that have been made to the older secondary schools in particular. The total amount of bursary and prize funds, mainly derived from these donations, which were distributed during the 1934/1935 school year to pupils at the State secondary schools was 371,598 kr.

In the last two years (1935 and 1936) these possibilities have been further augmented by a grant for the same purpose allotted by the Government from what is known as the public legacy fund, the amount for 1936 being 60,000 kr.

There seems good reason to state, then, that the possibilities for the

children of families of slender means to obtain the advantages of higher education in Sweden are fairly considerable, as indeed is clearly apparent from the social origin of the pupils at the public secondary schools, and from the constant circulation among the different classes of society which has been characteristic of the Swedish people from ancient times.

3. Vocational Training.

History. Vocational training in Sweden, as in other countries, was for a long time in the hands of the craftsmen themselves, and was regulated by their societies or guilds. Development in industry resulting from the introduction of machinery rendered necessary, however, a different kind of training from that which the craftsmen were able to impart. It was realized that special schools were necessary in order to give the particular instruction which was now required. A start was made with the School of Mechanics, which was established by a Royal Decree of the 11th December, 1798, at the then Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Stockholm. A number of industrial and sloyd schools were eventually added, chiefly as a result of private donations. These schools have latterly received State grants of varying amounts, and some of them have developed into State institutions, such as, for instance, the *Chalmers Technical High School* at Gothenburg and the *Technical School* in Stockholm. The School of Mechanics has become the present *Technical High School*.

The foundations of practical vocational training, as hitherto practised, were shaken by the abolition of the guilds in 1846 and the introduction of the freedom of industry in 1864. The need for technical training was increased by the fact that industry became responsible for a considerable proportion of production, and the State found it necessary to set up a number of technical secondary schools. Thus in 1853 the State opened a technical secondary school at Malmö, and shortly afterwards several other schools, in Borås, Örebro and Norrköping. At the same time Sunday and evening schools for apprentices and those employed during the day were established after foreign models.

The system of apprenticeship, however, had already begun to decline during the time of the guilds, and advancing industrialism was little

disposed to do anything to further vocational training. It therefore became necessary for the State to take the matter in hand. It was not until the 'seventies, however, that comprehensive measures were taken by the State for elementary vocational training. Several night schools and Sunday schools, subsidized by the State and later called elementary technical trade schools, were then opened for the purpose of giving persons already engaged in a trade such instruction as was necessary for conducting it along progressive lines. These schools were eventually set up in most towns and larger industrial districts.

As industry and the technical sciences developed it became necessary to reconstruct the technical secondary schools as well as the elementary technical trade schools.

The School Reform of 1918. After protracted investigations covering not only elementary technical instruction but also general national and commercial education, a very comprehensive bill for the establishment of *practical schools for young people* was passed by the Riksdag in 1918.

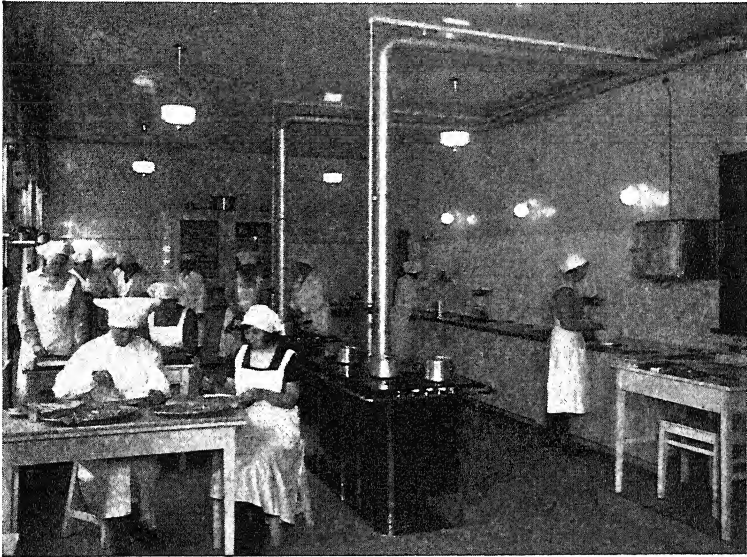
According to this Act — as mentioned in the chapter on the elementary school system — the former 6—7-year compulsory elementary schools should be followed by, likewise compulsory, reconstructed continuation schools. Besides these schools there should be voluntary higher elementary schools with full-time instruction during 1—4 years. Both these kinds of schools might be either general or occupational, according to the degree of emphasis laid on occupation in the course of studies.

For actual vocational training these continuation schools should be followed by apprenticeship schools for crafts, industry, commerce and domestic work, in which sloyd for women, child care, etc. are also included. The apprenticeship schools could be made compulsory to a certain limited extent for young people of 15—18 years of age employed in a trade. For those over 18 years of age, courses of a more voluntary character could be arranged, called "courses for adult workers". As a continuation of the apprenticeship schools, there should follow entirely voluntary trade schools, comprising mastership courses and subject courses for the higher stages of training. The sole object of the apprenticeship schools, as well as of the trade schools, would be to supply a supplementary

Vocational Training

training mainly theoretical in character, while the practical training was supposed to be acquired by practical experience with employers in the trade, side by side with the school training.

Besides apprenticeship and trade schools, there could be established one-year schools of commerce, just as for instruction



Domestic Economy School for Girls (Stockholm).

in domestic work there would be one-year domestic and housewifery schools, the two latter including also a considerable amount of practical work.

Another type, called the *workshop schools*, has subsequently been added to this system, and the object of these schools is practical training in a special trade, especially for young persons who on leaving the elementary schools experience some difficulty in obtaining employment without possessing any knowledge of a special trade.

The former technical secondary schools with a three-year course should be replaced partly by *technical trade schools*, in which the teaching was to be concentrated upon a certain branch of industry and based on considerable practical experience. the course

therefore being limited to two years, partly by technical "gymnasia", corresponding to the technical secondary schools, but concentrating to a certain extent upon technical commercial training.

For actual commercial instruction there should be commercial "gymnasia", besides the above-mentioned apprenticeship and trade schools for commerce and similar institutions. Several of these commercial gymnasia had already been set up through private and communal donations. They have latterly received grants from State funds and have consequently become a consolidated organization subject to official regulations.

The educational reforms that have thus passed into law have gradually been put into execution and have expanded year after year.

The central directing authority for the trade schools is the Central Board of Education, and is exercised within that Board through its Trade School Department.

Forms of State Subsidies. Different rules obtain regarding the grants made by the State towards the maintenance of the various types of schools.

The State does not as a rule make any contribution towards school premises for communal and private schools. The premises, as well as the furniture, heating and lighting, are provided by those responsible. The State subsidy to the communal apprenticeship and trade schools is fixed at not more than two-thirds of the cost of teachers' salaries, not exceeding however the amounts per hour of instruction laid down in the statutes, and one-half, or in exceptional cases two-thirds, of the cost of the educational supplies. The State subsidies to the workshop schools are determined on the same basis as those payable to the apprenticeship schools. Similarly, private schools may receive contributions from the State on the same basis as the corresponding communal schools, but as the amount available is limited, these schools often receive far smaller contributions. The technical trade schools and gymnasia are usually State establishments, and the State is responsible for all their expenses, except for the premises including fixtures and furniture, and the headmaster's residence, all of which are to be supplied by the commune in which the school is located. The commercial gymnasia are still private, but they receive contributions from the State, and usually also from the communes in which they are located. The State contribution amounts to only about half the running expenses.

The Organization and Scope of the Different Schools. *The workshop schools*, the object of which is to give a fundamental, purely practical, vocational training, are usually so arranged that the pupils are able to fulfil their obligation to attend the continuation school at the same time. Otherwise the working hours, as well as the working methods, are about the same as in ordinary workshops, except that special consideration is given to the question of training. In some cases the schools are run in conjunction with an actual workshop, where the pupils are enabled to work for part of the time or throughout the course. The pupils are also occasionally distributed among different places of work outside the school, according as the nature of the trade and other circumstances permit. The period of instruction may be divided in different ways and may be of long or short duration, though usually not more than 2,400 hours for any one pupil. In certain cases, however, the period of training has been extended to 3 or 4 years comprising at least 2,000 hours annually, it being estimated that the training can thus terminate with the "journeyman's test".

The teaching in the workshop school is usually free of charge, and the pupils receive remuneration in the form of diligence money, prizes, etc., in so far as their work is of productive value.

Workshop schools have been set up in several towns and other districts in which there is a fairly extensive industry. In Stockholm alone there are workshop schools for about 20 trades with about 600 pupils (1935—1936). It is hardly conceivable, however, that workshop schools could be established for all trades and in all places where practical training is needed. But even if the workshop school cannot be regarded as a final solution of the problem of practical vocational training, it has proved to be a valuable asset to young people who wish to acquire practical skill in their trades, and it has also received increasing recognition from both workers and employers.

The workshop schools have undergone considerable expansion in consequence of the Riksdag's authorization to the Government to grant a larger measure of support than is provided for by law to schools for the unemployed in certain provinces in which juvenile unemployment has shown a special tendency to persist. Ten such workshop schools have been established for the training of about 1,100 unemployed youths between the ages of 16 and 25, including those in the quarrying districts of Gothenburg & Bohus Province and Blekinge

Province (4 schools) and the sawmill and timber districts in Västernorrland (2 schools) with a total of 700 pupils. It is planned to establish a further number of these schools in certain other provinces.

Instruction in the *apprenticeship schools* is limited to at least 6 hours and at the most 12 hours per week for two school years of 8—9 months each. The lessons usually take place in the evening, or else at a time when they do not interfere with the working hours. The instruction must bear directly on the trade or sphere of work to which the pupils belong, and in order to provide for training in different trades and spheres of work the pupils are divided into trade sections, each section, so far as possible, being devoted to a particular trade. The instruction must take the form of definite courses, the extent and nature of the subjects being determined mainly by the special needs of the different trades.

Seeing that no apprenticeship law has ever been introduced — as will be explained below — it has not been possible to make the apprenticeship schools compulsory, with the result that the apprenticeship schools proper have a comparatively small range, and greater advantage has instead been taken of their freer courses for adults and of the courses on special subjects which are on a par with those of the apprenticeship schools.

Instruction in the apprenticeship schools is free of charge, but in some cases fees have been imposed for certain courses for adults.

The trade school, which is entirely optional, is usually a direct superstructure of the apprenticeship school, and, as in the latter school, the lessons are usually given in evening hours, but there are also more concentrated courses with full day-time instruction. This is especially the case where certain seasonal trades are concerned and in respect of courses attended by persons from different places, e. g. foreman and mastership courses.

Arrangements for short series of lectures and separate lectures on technical subjects also form part of the trade school curricula. This branch of activity has been energetically supported by various trade corporations, which arrange such lectures all over the country.

The State contributions to these institutions were estimated at 1,950,000 kronor for the financial year 1935/1936, to which is added 300,000 kronor for the assistance of needy pupils. The expenses borne by communes and private persons for these institutions cannot be estimated exactly, but they probably amount to at least as much.

Vocational Training

The Central Board of Education arranges courses for instructors in trade training.

An exceptional position in regard to vocational instruction is held by the *Handicrafts Institute*, established in 1922 by the Handicrafts Organization of Sweden. This Institute possesses excellent work-



Trade School for Boys (Mechanics, Örebro).

shops, laboratories, and lecture halls, as well as a well-equipped technical trade museum and library, all housed in their own premises in Stockholm. Several mastership courses are held there yearly, and similar courses in other parts of the country are organized from there. The Institute further carries on extensive consultative work, and lectures in the handicraft societies all over the country are arranged through its medium, the object of all of which is the promotion of handicraft training and the improvement of the crafts. The finances of the Institute are based partly on private donations of considerable amounts, partly on training fees, etc., together with certain State grants.

As regards *technical intermediate schools*, the State maintains: two technical secondary schools, at Norrköping and Borås; a technical

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"gymnasium" at Örebro, at which the instruction is divided into mechanical, chemical, electrical and commercial departments; a technical gymnasium at Malmö, to which is attached a mechanical, a constructional and a chemical trade school; a technical gymnasium at Härnösand; an electro-technical trade school at Västerås; a mechanico-technical trade school at Eskilstuna, and the technical school in Stockholm, with courses for different industrial art trades and also an engineering and a building trade school. Further there is in Filipstad a school of mining, which has the standing of a technical trade school and is maintained by the Iron & Steel Institute (Jernkontoret), with contributions from the State.

There are *commercial gymnasia* in Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, Hälsingborg, Örebro and Norrköping. Further, there is a commercial institute in Gävle, which is equivalent to a commercial gymnasium.

Several other educational institutions not under the Central Board of Education provide vocational training. Among these may be mentioned the schools of navigation in Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, Kalmar and Härnösand, and 12 agricultural schools, 40 farmer schools, 38 rural household schools (for young women), 3 horticultural schools, 6 forestry schools, besides the universities, academies, and institutions for higher technical training.

4. General Popular Education and Social Culture.

Public Libraries. The oldest known public library in Sweden was established in 1800 (at Lekeryd in Småland). It was not, however, until the 1830's and 1840's that an organized library movement came into being. The movement, chiefly led by the clergy, was organized on the English model, and in some quarters there was linked to it a regular system of common studies. By the beginning of the 1840's the interest in libraries had developed so strongly that the first elementary school regulations (of 1842) contained an injunction regarding the duty of the clergy to encourage the establishment of parish libraries "for the maintenance of the knowledge gained at school and particularly for the promotion of sound Christian training". The movement, which was confined mainly to the rural areas, was carried on in close collaboration with the local school authorities

and by the end of the 1860's had grown to such an extent that libraries were to be found in more than half the parishes (1,437).

After a period of decline, the library movement gained fresh impetus towards the close of the 19th century in conjunction with the growth of industrialism and the democratization that accompanied it. Town libraries became more prominent. Among early town libraries were the Dickson public library in Gothenburg, which moved into a building of its own in 1897, the first library to do so in Scandinavia, and the Popular Education Society's library in Stockholm. Numerous workers' libraries were also founded about this time (the chief being the Stockholm Workers' Library, dating from 1892). There also appeared a number of temperance libraries, mostly attached to the Order of Good Templars and associated with the study circles formed at the time. Following the founding in 1912 of the Workers' Education Association, with its extensive study circle movement, workers' libraries progressed more rapidly.

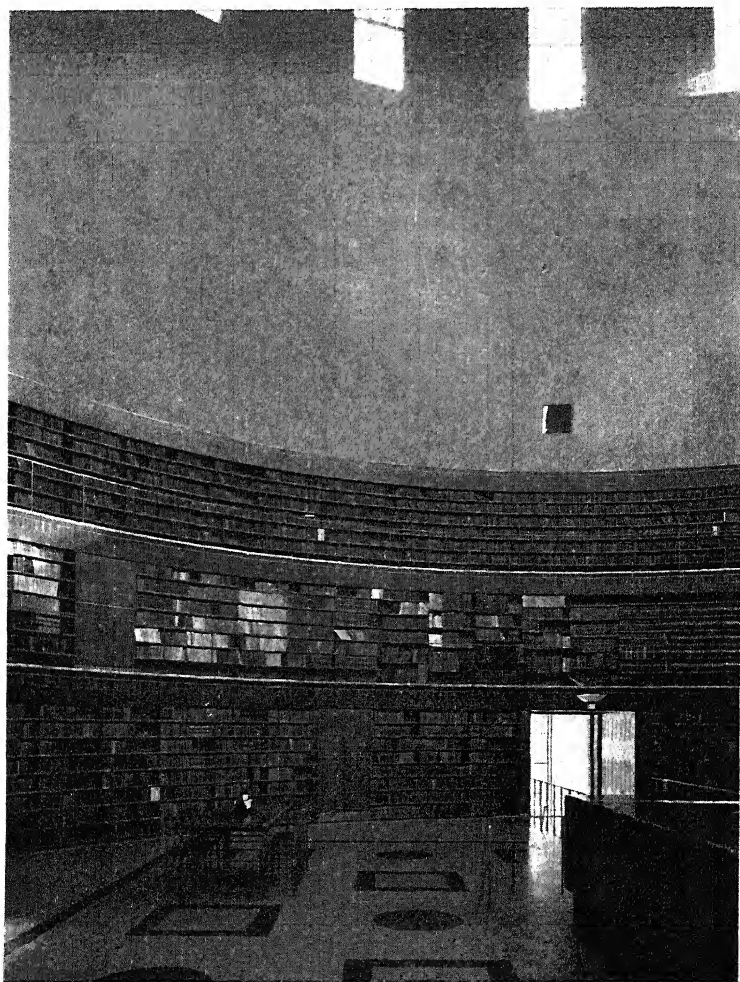
In 1905, the Riksdag for the first time granted State funds to the library movement. By 1912 these grants had considerably increased and it was stipulated that grants should go to study circle libraries as well as to public libraries and school libraries. To the type of library enjoying State aid hospital libraries were added in 1920. In 1929 the reorganization of the State aid to library work was decided upon on a much more favourable basis. The maximum amount of State aid to the public library of a commune (communal and similar public libraries and study circle libraries affiliated to the great national associations) is 10,000 kronor per year. Every subsidy is made in a certain proportion to the amount drawn from other sources (50—100 % thereof). For the large libraries to qualify for the maximum State subsidy it is required that the library shall have a reading room available with a satisfactory collection of textbooks and also that the library staff shall possess the necessary qualifications.

A particularly important innovation in the 1929 regulations was the decision gradually to establish central libraries in all the 24 provinces of the country. The central library grant amounts to not more than 10,000 kronor over and above the sum otherwise received and is made to those town libraries which undertake within their respective provinces to "supplement the work of local libraries by direct loans free of charge of books required for study, by sending out travelling libraries and by giving guidance in library practice".

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Up to now 8 central libraries have been established (at Malmö, Karlstad, Eskilstuna, Luleå, Gothenburg, Halmstad, Örebro and Borås). In provinces with central libraries the public libraries are inspected by the central librarian.

In 1930 considerably higher grants from the public library ap-



The Stockholm Town Library, Lending Room.

appropriation were decided upon for several kinds of school libraries (including a contribution of up to 1,000 kr. for each school district for the elementary school library).

During the last decades the public library movement has undergone a steady expansion, in which the increase in State aid has been a contributory factor of special importance.

In several localities the libraries have acquired premises well adapted to their purpose. Thus the Stockholm City Library has erected for its head library a large building (completed in 1928), and new and modern premises have also been acquired in recent years by the libraries of Eskilstuna, Jönköping, Kristianstad, Ystad, Hälsingborg, Gothenburg, Borås, Örebro and Falun.

The stocks of books have been largely renewed. This applies in a particularly high degree to the textbooks. In a number of towns a beginning has been made with providing foreign literature as well. The question of the purchase of musical works is being discussed.

The methods of work have been repeatedly modernized. The books are arranged on open shelves, easily accessible to borrowers, up-to-date card indexes are prepared, in some places the libraries publish their own periodical communications to ensure better contact with borrowers, and so on.

The staffs are to an increasing extent being engaged for whole-time service. For the training of librarians for the smaller libraries short courses have been arranged for several years past. Since 1926 there have been, in addition, longer courses (of 5 months), usually held in alternate years.

In the sphere of school libraries also there has been much activity during the last few years. Lessons have more and more been planned in such a way that they are directly linked up with the school library, and special instruction in the use of libraries and books of reference has also been introduced in various schools. The progress in this direction has been encouraged by the extension of library teaching in the elementary school training colleges. As to the secondary schools, it should be noted that the school reform of the year 1927 includes among its aims increased independent study on the part of the pupils with the help of the libraries.

At present (1936) there are over 1,300 public libraries, 1,600 school libraries and considerably more than 4,000 study circle libraries. These have altogether $5\frac{1}{2}$ million volumes and lend

annually over 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ million volumes to close on 1,200,000 borrowers; i. e. $\frac{1}{5}$ of the country's inhabitants borrow for home reading an average of about 13 volumes annually. Of the total, over 55 % falls to the public libraries, about 30 % to school libraries and close on 15 % to study circles. Local grants are about 3 mill. kronor and State subsidies about 1 mill. kr.

Since 1913 matters connected with public libraries have been dealt with by special officials (at present, one first and two subordinate library advisers, since 1914 subordinate to the Central Board of Education). Their task includes, besides their administrative work, inspection and advisory work, the publication of annotated catalogues as a guide to the selection of books, and the arrangement of courses for the training of library employees.

The special organ for libraries is the "Biblioteksbladet" (The Library News).

Popular Science Lectures. As long ago as in the middle of the 19th century popular science lectures had been arranged for "educational circles" and working men's societies. Subsequently public lectures had been given at the people's colleges for the inhabitants of the surrounding districts. But the first institution for popular science lectures in the present sense of the word was the *Stockholm Working Men's Institute*, started in the year 1880, on the model of which similar institutes appeared in other towns and cities during the 'eighties. They were to be for the industrial workers of the towns and cities what the people's colleges were for the rural population. When a State subsidy for the purpose was voted by the Riksdag for the first time in 1884 — as long ago as in 1881 to 1883 the Government had made grants to the Stockholm Working Men's Institute —, it was not laid down, as was first proposed, that the subsidy should be paid only in support of lecture work in the cities and towns, but it was not until the year 1893 that State-aided lecture institutions were started in the rural districts. And right up to the year 1908 the State subsidy was described as "Subsidy to societies which arrange lectures for the working classes". Particularly in the country, however, these lectures were intended for the middle classes at least as much as for the working classes. To begin with, the State subsidy referred only to connected courses of lectures, but with the extension of the movement to rural areas,

independent lectures to a large extent superseded the connected courses.

The task of arranging connected courses has in recent years been taken over by special associations, which receive State support according to regulations issued in 1928. These associations with various names (people's college associations, education associations) now number 23 and cover the greater part of the country. Teaching is provided both by lectures and lessons and by study circles. For the budget year 1936/1937 the total amount of State grants to 109 courses was about 45,000 kr.

Since the year 1919 there has existed a new State-aided lecturing activity, which is specially intended for the working classes. In the said year the *Workers' Educational Association* received a subsidy for its lecture work. This is arranged exclusively in the form of series of lectures and is as a rule carried on in direct connection with the study circles and is not now confined to the Association's own work but extends to that of four other study circle societies.

For the publication of lists of lecturers and subjects, and for the arrangement of lectures there are three central bureaux¹, the oldest of which started in the year 1898. Furthermore, the Workers' Educational Association has its own central office. The arrangements for lectures at the local lecture institutions — chiefly in the form of tours — are largely made by federations of lecture societies, so-called lecture unions, which in their turn have formed the National Organization of Lecture Unions.

The distribution of the State subsidy and the central control is vested in the Central Board of Education. The regulations now governing the State subsidy were issued in 1929.

For the budget year 1935/1936, the State subsidy for 627 local lecture institutions amounted to 154,305 kronor, for one national association for lecture and study circle work (the Workers' Educational Association) to 13,300 kr., for 3 central bureaux 15,700 kr., and for 19 lecture unions 8,680 kr. The number of lectures arranged in 1934/1935 was about 10,000.

A special journal "*Tidskrift för föreläsningsverksamheten*" (Lecture Work Journal) has been published since the year 1925 and receives a State subsidy since 1929.

¹ The Central Bureau in Lund for popular science lectures, the People's Educational Association, in Stockholm, and the People's Educational Association of West Sweden, in Gothenburg.

Study Circles. The study circle movement is a form of free and independent private study which has sprung up independently in Sweden. The work is based on joint study in friendly circles under the guidance of one of the members of the circle or a special teacher. The Swedish study circle movement, which originated with the Order of Good Templars in 1902, has spread mainly amongst the great temperance and working men's organizations: The Order of Good Templars, the National Order of Templars, and the Swedish Blue Ribbon Society, as well as the Workers' Educational Association. To this has been added within recent years a corresponding activity among young agricultural workers, conducted by one or two organizations, namely the Agricultural Young People's Union and the Rural Study Association of Sweden, as also among religious organizations (the Christian Educational Association of Sweden).

The study circles work in various ways: through readings, reviews, independent lectures and discussions connected therewith. Often one and the same subject is dealt with from different points of view at successive meetings. In recent years a small number of study circles under the direction of university lecturers and paying special attention to systematic and more profound studies, known as university study circles, have been in receipt of a State grant. The work of the study circles has not seldom been linked up with public lectures. As already stated, the circles in many cases carry on their own library work, and the communal libraries also frequently collaborate with the study circles in the district. Among other things, not a few up-to-date libraries lease premises to these circles.

The number of study circles affiliated to the State-aided national unions amounted in the working-year 1935/1936 to 1,637 belonging to the Order of Good Templars, 5,886 to the Workers' Educational Association, 949 to the National Order of Templars, 201 to the Swedish Blue Ribbon Society, 363 to the Agricultural Young People's Union, 712 to the Rural Study Association, and 198 to the Christian Educational Association.

The scope of the library work carried on by the study circles has been dealt with above.

The State grant for university circles for the budget year 1936/1937 amounted to 6,000 kr.

The study circles previously had a common journal, "Bokstugan" (The Reading Room); since the 1st July, 1936 this has been replaced

by "Folklig kultur" (Popular Culture), the result of an amalgamation of "Bokstugan" with another journal.

People's Colleges. In conjunction with the beginning of the democratization of Swedish society, which found expression in the new local government laws of 1862 and the franchise reform of 1866, increased interest in popular education was aroused in Sweden. This was directed in the first instance towards giving the peasant and farmer class a greater measure of civic education and instilling in them a more active public spirit, so that they might be able properly to exercise their increased influence in State and commune. In these aims the Liberal politicians of the time were at one with far-sighted farmers. When in these circles reference was made to the Danish people's colleges, originating in the religious-national-popular movement that centred around N. F. S. Grundtvig, and which was started as early as 1844, this type of school was held to be a suitable form for new educational work also among the young people of Sweden. The idea crystallized with the establishment of a people's college in the province of Östergötland (Herrestad, subsequently Lunnevad) and two in the province of Scania (Hvilan and Önnestad), which were opened in 1868.

During the 'seventies quite a large number of colleges were added to these, some of which, however, did not survive. When the first people's colleges celebrated their 25th anniversary, their number was 26; after a further twenty-five years they had increased to 52. In the year 1936 the number of State-aided people's colleges amounted to 56, to which have to be added some that work without a State subsidy. Some of them were ambulatory to start with; nowadays there is only one such (the Lapland Travelling People's College). The bulk of the colleges have been established through the agency of societies formed for the purpose. In some provinces, however, the provincial councils have from the outset assumed responsibility for them. Gradually quite a number of private people's colleges have been taken over by the provincial councils, so that at the present time about one-third of them are provincial, even if not always nominally so.

Although the Swedish people's college derived its name (*folkhögskola*), and partly also the forms of its activity, from its Danish prototype, it nevertheless occupied an independent position from the very start in relation to the latter. Above all, in Sweden there existed no

counterpart of the religious-national movement, "Grundtvigianism", in which the Danish people's college had its origin; the Swedish college had its foundations rather in civic and general culture. Despite this it acquired from the very start a strongly ideal character owing to the enthusiasm for their task exhibited by the pioneers and their devoted labours on behalf of the youth of the nation. Like the Danish establishments of the same kind, the Swedish people's college laid its main stress on inspiring young people rather than on equipping them with technical knowledge.

As far back as the year 1872 the colleges were granted a State subsidy, although it was modest at the start. The State attached, however, no controlling clause proper to this subsidy, until the 1912 Riksdag resolved upon the appointment of an inspector¹, besides which the colleges, after the establishment of a special board for popular education, were placed under the latter's supervision.

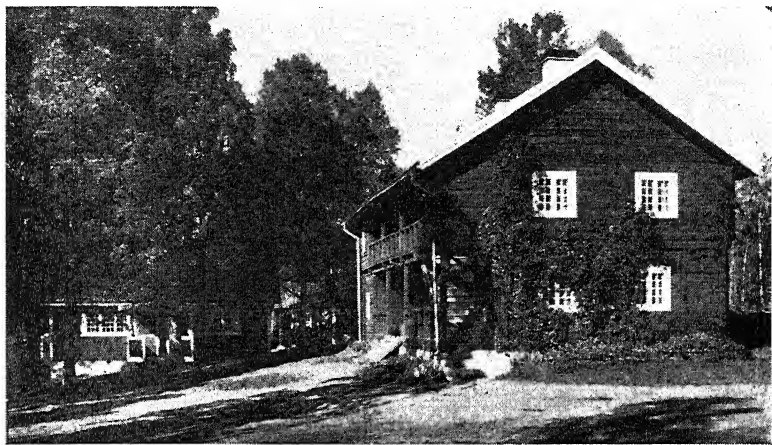
In conjunction with an increase in the State subsidy and stipulations as to the minimum salary to be paid to the teaching staff, which was resolved upon by the 1919 Riksdag, regulations were issued for the people's colleges, which in all essentials embodied a summary of the tradition developed at these colleges. Certain subjects are prescribed as compulsory during the first year's course of teaching, viz. the Swedish language and Swedish literature, history and sociology, geography, mathematics, natural science and hygiene, and also singing and gymnastics. Beyond that there are, as a rule, certain courses in book-keeping and drawing for male students and in sloyd for female students, combined with domestic economy in certain of the schools. The programme is filled up in various ways by the different schools. In recent years the tendency as regards both the selection and the treatment of subjects has been to keep in touch with the questions of the day.

The regulations contain no provisions relating to courses of instruction and methods of teaching. In the last-mentioned respect, in the Swedish people's colleges, as in the Danish, oral teaching has been predominant, but from the beginning students have been required to work for themselves. Of late years greater efforts have also been made to promote the students' independent work by means of laboratory practice, study circles, etc.

¹ The appointment was suspended in 1932, but was resumed as from the 1st July, 1936.

General Popular Education and Social Culture

At the majority of the colleges the working-year comprises a main course (the winter term) for male or both male and female students lasting for 21—24 weeks, and an independent course for women (summer term) lasting 13—16 weeks. A few colleges have only a main course, which is then available for both sexes. At a good many colleges



Dwellings for the Pupils at the Worker's College, Brunnsvik.

there is another year's course (higher division), which imparts further instruction in certain of the subjects of the first year's course, frequently with the addition of some foreign language. In the women's summer courses this higher division is as a rule converted into a school of housewifery. As the intercourse between teachers and pupils outside the lessons has always been looked upon as an important factor in the people's college educational work, the majority of the colleges provide for the pupils to live in.

Apart from the ordinary courses, short courses of instruction of different kinds are frequently given. Of late years so-called holiday courses for industrial workers have also been arranged at quite a number of schools, in co-operation with the Workers' Educational Association. As the teachers as a rule zealously participate in the work of local lecturing, or conduct the study circles held for the people of the district, the colleges have generally become the centre of the independent popular education activities in their respective areas. Quite

a number of people's colleges are run in conjunction with a farmer school or a rural domestic economy school for women.

At the beginning the colleges were in the first instance intended for the youth of the rural population, and the bulk of the pupils still come from farmers' families. But in recent years the class of small holders and agricultural labourers has been more and more supplying the pupils. By the establishment of a special Workers' College (Brunns-*vik*) in 1906 an interest in the people's colleges was aroused amongst the younger industrial workers, which has subsequently benefited other of these colleges. Various groups have established colleges of a more special character: there are for example two church colleges and one free church college, a temperance college, and a co-operative college.

The number of pupils varies rather considerably according to economic conditions, the position of agriculture formerly being a determining factor. While the farming youth more particularly turn to the people's colleges in good times, it is natural that the flow of students from the working classes is strongest in times of unemployment. For some years at the beginning of the 1920's the movement showed a considerable decline, but since 1925 the number of pupils has again increased. During the five-year period 1931/1932—1935/1936 the colleges were attended by 12,495 male and 15,990 female students, making a total number of 28,485, giving an annual average of 5,697. For the year 1935/1936 the number was 5,948.

For the budget year 1936/1937 the Riksdag vote for people's colleges was 1,300,000 kr. Since 1882 the State has also provided maintenance for necessitous students at people's colleges. The vote for the purpose for the budget year 1936/1937 amounted to 600,000 kr. About two-thirds of the students are in receipt of bursaries. The age of most pupils was from 18 to 21 years.

The Institute for Social Training and Research. The need of professional training for persons intending to devote themselves to practical social work has long been realized in Sweden — notably by the Central Association for Social Work — (cf. p. 41). As far back as 1909 that organization started a first course on subjects connected with social work.

In 1920 the Association resolved to establish its instructional activities on a more concrete basis by founding in Stockholm a special *Institute for Education and Research in Social Questions* (known as

the Social Institute). This Institute, which has been financed partly by certain donations and funds and partly by annual grants from a number of towns and other institutions, is under the management of a special Council, whose Chairman is appointed by the Government, and 20 other members elected by the Association, the Stockholm City Council, the boards of the central communal organizations, members of the Association (cf. p. 41) and the Board of Governors of Stockholm University. As from the autumn of 1932 the Social Institute and the University's Social Science Institute have had premises in the same building, in which is also housed the Social Science Library. This Library is owned by the Social Institute, but it is at the disposal of both institutions. The University is further associated with the Institute insofar as the Director of the Institute at the same time holds a University Professorship in Economics and Social Policy. In addition, the staff of teachers consists partly of scientifically qualified lecturers from universities and colleges and partly of persons engaged in the various spheres of social and municipal administration who are both competent in the theory of the relative subjects and experienced in their practice.

The regular subjects of study at the Institute are: economics, political science, social policy, social hygiene, social relief and protection, psychology, the science of local government and municipal economy. The courses follow three different lines of instruction: one social, one municipal and one sociological, a separate final examination being held in each section. With the social examination is combined practical training in social work. For pupils who devote their whole time to studying at the Institute, the course is calculated to take 1—2 years. It is possible, however, to go through a course side by side with other work, in which case, of course, a longer period of study is required. No formal qualifications are laid down as necessary for admission to the Institute, though such general education is required as corresponds to the standard needed for the matriculation examination. The instruction is on University lines throughout and is given in the form of lectures, seminars, practical demonstrations, etc., as well as personal guidance offered to pupils studying independently. For the autumn term of 1935 there were 232 persons entered as pupils at the Institute.

XII. The Community's Expenditure for Social Purposes.

1. State Expenditure.

A calculation of State expenditure for social purposes is fraught with many difficulties, owing partly to uncertainty as to which items should be placed under this heading, and partly to the fact that certain important items of expenditure (*inter alia*, cost-of-living bonuses and petty expenses), at least for some of the last five budget years, are not specified for the various branches of administration but are only accounted for in a lump-sum for each ministry. If the investigation is limited to such expenses as refer to social welfare (including public health and the care of the sick, but excluding public education and other similar purposes), the problem is so far simplified that in the main only such expenses need to be taken into account as come under the estimate for the Ministry of Social Affairs. Even with this limitation certain grants which in the national accounts come under other headings, such as grants for legal aid and reformatories, etc. (under the heading of Ministry of Justice), distressed Swedes resident abroad (Foreign Office), relief of conscripts' families (Ministry of Defence), teaching of the abnormal and temperance teaching, contribution towards the boarding of school children, etc. (Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs), explosives and shipping inspection (Ministry of Commerce), etc. In addition there are to be found in certain years under the fund for advances to the Treasury and the State's public property fund a number of items of a social nature, principally grants for combating unemployment and an occasional grant for hospital building. On the other hand, it should be observed that a considerable part of the grants under the Social Board's estimate apply to expenditure that cannot truly be designated as for social purposes (provincial governments, the police, etc.).

The following table gives a summary of State expenditure for the purposes in question during the last budget years, together with corresponding figures for 1913.

State Expenditure

State Expenditure for Social Purposes (in million kronor).

	1913	1930 /31	1931 /32	1932 /33	1933 /34	1934 /35	1935 /36
Accident insurance	0.2	2.3	2.6	2.4	2.2	1.9	2.4
Sickness insurance	1.2	4.1	4.4	4.7	6.2	8.7	13.0
Pension insurance	2.6	45.3	48.2	42.4	53.3	54.8	55.9
Assistance to the blind	—	—	—	—	—	0.6	1.7
Poor relief and child welfare	0.7	2.8	3.7	3.6	3.7	4.1	3.7
Workers' protection, labour exchanges, Social Board, etc.	0.4	1.7	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.6
Unemployment (including unemployment insurance)	—	8.6	27.6	55.2	89.2	84.8	54.2
Public health and care of the sick	8.1	34.2	36.1	33.3	35.7	36.3	38.3
Reformatories, care of vagrants and inebriates	0.7	1.6	1.8	2.1	1.8	2.0	1.9
Other social purposes	1.0	3.6	3.8	3.7	3.4	3.6	4.1
Cost-of-living bonuses, petty expenses, etc.	0.3	3.5	3.5	3.2	2.4	2.6	2.2
Total	15.2	107.7	133.6	152.4	199.7	201.3	180.0

Under the heading "unemployment" are included expenditures for, inter alia, reserve works and "advanced" public works, but not the expenses incurred in, e. g. promotion of building activities and other similar public works put in hand to combat unemployment. The decrease during the last few years in expenditure on "cost-of-living bonuses, petty expenses, etc." may be partly ascribed to certain alterations in budget accounting involving, among other things, a distribution amongst the grants to each special authority of certain items of expenditure, which were formerly only accounted for as a lump-sum for each department.

The expenditure for the appropriations combined under the heading "other social purposes" amounted for the budget year 1935/36 to the following approximate sums.

Mill.
kr.

Legal assistance institutes and free legal proceedings	0.5
Conditional sentences and discharged prisoners	0.2
Distressed Swedes resident abroad	0.1
Relief to conscripts' families	0.1

The Community's Expenditure for Social Purposes

Contribution towards the boarding of school children, etc.	1 2
Teaching of the abnormal	0 7
Promotion of temperance	0 3
Seamen's pensions	0 3
Ministry of Social Affairs (about $\frac{2}{3}$ of total cost)	0 2
Committees and experts	0 5
	<hr/>
Total	4 1

In addition to the objects of a social nature dealt with by the State and included in the above tables, there should be mentioned the measures for own homes, the workmen's small holdings movement, and the promotion of house building and improvement of housing in town and country. The loan funds for such purposes had at their disposal in the middle of 1936 a combined capital of close on 300 million kronor.

The particulars given indicate that the expansion of the State's social activities which has characterized the last few decades has also involved increased expenditure for these purposes. Account should, however, be taken of the fall in the value of money during the period under review, which in the cases under discussion, since it is essentially a question of expenditure on salaries, might best be gauged from the Social Board's cost-of-living index number. This series of index numbers shows a proportion of 100:158 between the general price levels of 1913 and 1936. To arrive at an approximate basis of comparison between the two years the expenditure of 1913 should be increased by that proportion. Before making such a comparison, however, there should be deducted from the final totals for both years not only the amounts paid out of State funds for public pension insurance, which is on the whole a new purpose of a special character, but also the amounts designed to combat unemployment, which during the past year temporarily required the expenditure of unusually large sums. The inclusion of these items would thus altogether upset the result of the comparison. If these points are taken into consideration it will be found that the real increase in expenditure amounts to about 250 %.

The total expenditure quoted for the 1935/1936 budget year, 180 million kronor, is equivalent to 20 % of the entire State expenditure for that year, about 900 million kronor (the greater part of the expenditure for the increase of the State's capital assets not included).

2 Communal Expenditure.

Communal financial statistics are computed on the basis of a summary of the communal accounts, which are annually rendered to the Central Statistical Office. In addition to the primary communes, the statistics deal with the provincial councils, in which are included all primary communes with the exception of the 6 largest towns. The summaries of accounts are drawn up on the system of gross accounting, but particulars relating to the net expenditure for different branches of administration, i. e. gross expenditure reduced by special income (not rates and taxes or general State grants) for the various branches of administration, can also be obtained. An idea of the total public expenditure for a certain purpose is best afforded by the statements relating to the net expenditure; since, as is becoming the case on an increasingly large scale, both the State and the provincial councils and primary communes co-operate in performing certain social functions, and this co-operation is effected by means of subsidies or indemnities from State and provincial council to the primary communes, the gross expenditure of the latter in fact includes also the grants and indemnities from State and provincial council. If, on the other hand, some knowledge is required of the distribution of the expenditure according to its nature (purchase of real property, salaries and wages, etc.) the statements relating to the gross expenditure are as a rule the only practicable sources of information.

The latest year for which complete statistics are available is 1932. The expenditures of the provincial councils and the communes for social purposes (in million of kr.) appear from the table on next page.

In the items of expenditure combined under the heading "other social purposes" are included grants for such purposes as the sickness funds, temperance work, legal assistance institutions, heated winter shelters and the like, and also certain grants for measures against unemployment. Most of the communes' expenditure on unemployment, however, is charged to the branches of the administration for which the reserve works have been executed. It is not therefore possible to give any detailed particulars of this unemployment expenditure. Another item of expenditure which in many communes is combined with the costs of poor relief, and has therefore not been specified, is the care of inebriates.

Comparison with conditions just before the world war is attended with greater difficulty in regard to the communes than in regard to

The Community's Expenditure for Social Purposes

	Provincial councils		Primary communes		Of these towns not participating in provincial councils	
	net	gross	net	gross	net	gross
Pensions insurance	6.5	6.5	16.2	26.4	7.9	9.7
Poor relief (incl. care of inebriates)	9.6	10.0	73.0	113.3	24.5	34.3
Child welfare	1.3	1.9	11.8	17.6	4.1	5.6
Public health and care of the sick	32.5	56.0	34.7	50.3	27.4	40.2
Labour exchanges	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.5
Other social purposes	0.4	0.4	15.4	15.4	5.6	5.6
Total 1932	50.6	75.3	151.6	223.6	69.9	95.9
» 1931	51.3	75.0	136.1	202.2	59.5	81.8
» 1930	49.3	73.7	118.8	181.6	47.8	67.9
» 1929	52.5	74.0	109.9	168.7	44.7	63.6
» 1928	49.1	69.1	107.1	162.2	42.9	60.8

State expenditure, since earlier communal statistics make no distinction between net and gross expenditure. If gross figures alone are taken, it appears that for 1913 the expenditure on public health and the care of the sick amounted to about 12.7 million kronor for the provincial councils and 11.9 million for the communes, while poor relief, for which at that time the primary communes were almost entirely responsible, cost 28.1 million kronor.

As regards the provincial councils, social grants constitute by far the greater part of the public expenditure which these bodies have to meet. For 1932 they correspond, in the net figure quoted above, to 77 % of the total net expenditure of the councils, and it should be further stated that of the grants made by the councils for educational purposes, which are not included in this figure, a considerable proportion relates to the training of the abnormal and should thus also be included among the expenditure for social purposes. Of the total expenditure of the primary communes the social grants amount to about 35 %.

*

If to the total of the net expenditure of the provincial councils and communes for social purposes during the last accounting year be added the corresponding State expenditure for the most closely comparable budget year (1932/33), then, as the tables given here show, a total figure of about 350 million kronor is reached.

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